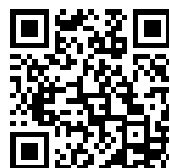


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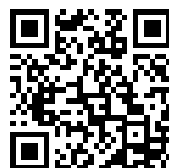


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# The Eclogues of Alexander Barclay

FROM THE ORIGINAL EDITION

BY

JOHN CAWOOD

EDITED

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

BEATRICE WHITE, M.A.

LONDON

PUBLISHED FOR THE EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY  
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To  
Professor A. W. Reed





## PREFACE

I should like to take this opportunity of thanking all those who have helped with the making of this book. In particular I am indebted to Mr. Leslie E. Bliss, Librarian of the H. E. Huntington Library, San Gabriel, California, who, at the request of Professor A. W. Pollard, C.B., very kindly sent me readings from the Library's unique edition of the Fourth Eclogue, printed by Pynson; to Mr. H. J. Byrom, for an important reference, and last, but not least, to Professor A. W. Reed, University of London, under whom my studies on Barclay were carried through at King's College, for his unfailing help and encouragement.

In this edition the punctuation of the English and Latin originals has been preserved, as contributing to the interest of the text. For the rather formidable list of errata I ask the indulgence of the reader. The large proportion of Latin prose and verse and its precise arrangement on the page, made the preparation of the edition an exacting task for both editor and printers.

I hope that the inclusion of the Latin sources of the Eclogues will be found useful by everyone who is interested in Tudor translators and their methods.

B. W.



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## LIST OF ERRATA

### ECLOGUE I

- l. 1104. For 'As as' read 'As an.'

### ECLOGUE II

- p. 73. Latin, l. 5. For 'quamis' read 'quamuis.'  
l. 1292. Supply footnote, Cawood 'not.'

### ECLOGUE III

- l. 300. For 'in' read 'in¹.'  
l. 523. Supply footnote, Cawood 'Cornix.'

### ECLOGUE IV

- l. 887. For 'stature' read 'stature².'  
l. 1136. For 'Cornix' read 'Cornix³.'

### ECLOGUE V

- l. 220. For 'have' read 'haue.'  
l. 803. For 'a[v]owe' read 'a[u]owe.'  
p. 212. Latin, l. 8. For 'qæsitās' read 'quæsitās.'  
l. 977. For 'Vice' read 'Uice.'

### NOTES

- p. 219, last line. For 'J. Humphrey Powell' read 'Humphrey Powell.'  
p. 222, last line. For 'librairæ' read 'libraire.'  
p. 228. For Note 12 read Note 10 (cont.).  
p. 232. Note 1, Page 32. For 'critur' read 'oritur.'  
p. 247. Note 1, Page 103. For 'not' read 'not.'  
p. 258. Footnote 1. For 'dea bergières' read 'des bergières.'  
p. 261. French, l. 2. For 'haute monts' read 'hauts monts.'  
p. 267. Note 2, Page 197, l. 12. For 'amibat' read 'ambibat.'



# INTRODUCTION

## THE LIFE OF ALEXANDER BARCLAY

ALEXANDER BARCLAY'S nationality has been the subject of a long and untiring controversy. It seems probable that he was born about the year 1476; for internal evidence points strongly to the fact that the Eclogues were written in the early years of Henry VIII's reign (1513 or 1514), and in the Prologue to these poems, Barclay speaks of his being in age 'fortie yere save twayne.'

The mass of critical opinion supports the theory that the poet was of Scottish origin. John Bale, bishop of Ossory, wavers in his statements, and finally refuses to commit himself. In his *Index Britannicæ Scriptorum*, or Autograph Notebook, Barclay is referred to as 'Scotus,' on the authority of 'Nicolaus Brigan et alii,' and 'Anglus,' on the authority of 'John Allen.'<sup>2</sup> Barclay's name appears in the *Additio* of the 1548<sup>3</sup> edition of the *Catalogus*, followed by a short comment, 'Alexander Barkeley, Scotus, rhetor ac poeta insignis.'

<sup>1</sup> *Nicholas Brigan* or *Brigham*—mentioned by Bale (*Scriptores*, 1557-9) as Latin scholar and antiquarian, who gave up literature to practise in the law courts and who flourished in 1550. Pits adds that he was a good orator and no common poet, and that in 1555 he built a tomb for the bones of Chaucer in Westminster Abbey. He is possibly to be identified with Nicholas Brigham, a 'teller' of the exchequer, who died in 1558. D. N. B.

<sup>2</sup> *John Allen*. The identification of Allen is difficult. In two instances Bale notes—'ex Joanne Alen pictore,' in a third—'ex studio Joannis Alen,' and in a fourth—'ex officina Joannis Alen.' He may have been a printer or a painter and is not to be confounded with the English divine (1476-1534) who in 1528 was elected archbishop of Dublin and who met a violent death in 1534 at the hands of the followers of Lord Thomas Fitzgerald.

<sup>3</sup> 1548. *Illustr. Maioris Britannicæ Scriptorum*. Joannem Overton: Gippeswici.

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In the later<sup>1</sup> and considerably larger edition of his work Bale says of Barclay: 'quem alii Scotum alii Anglo fuisse contendūt.' Pitsæus<sup>2</sup> gives his verdict in the *Relationum Historicarum de Rebus Anglicis*—'Alexander Barcleius, quibusdam Scotus fuisse videtur, sed Anglus vere fuit, patria, ut probabile est, Devonienſis.'

Holinshed<sup>3</sup> definitely states that the poet was 'a Scot' and Dempster<sup>4</sup> follows him. Wadding is non-committal—'Alexander Barcleius, de cujus ortu Scoti et Angli contendunt.' Wood<sup>5</sup> is more courageous—'Alexander de Barklay seems to have been born at or near a town so called in Somersetshire.' Warton<sup>6</sup> thinks that Barclay 'most probably was of Devonshire or Gloucestershire.' Ritson,<sup>7</sup> Irving,<sup>8</sup> Mackenzie,<sup>9</sup> Sibbald<sup>10</sup> and Bliss<sup>11</sup> strongly adhere to the theory of Scottish birth. That there is good contemporary evidence for the plausibility of this theory has been noticed by more recent critics.

In 1564 William Bullein,<sup>12</sup> a native of Ely, and a well-

<sup>1</sup> 1557-1559. *Scriptorum illustriū maioris Brytannie*. Apud Joannem Oporinum. Basilæ, p. 723.

<sup>2</sup> *Relationum Historicarum de Rebus Anglicis* MDC XIX, p. 745.

<sup>3</sup> Holinshed. *Chronicle*, p. 1087. 'Alexander Barkleie a Scot, a notable poet, and a good rhetorician, departed this life in the yeare one thousand five hundred fiftie and two.'

<sup>4</sup> Dempster. *Historia Ecclesiastica*, p. 106 and p. 96.

<sup>5</sup> Anthony Wood. *Athenæ Oxonienses*. Vol. I, pp. 205-9.

<sup>6</sup> Warton. *History of English Poetry*. Edition 1778. Vol. II, p. 240.

<sup>7</sup> Ritson. *Bibliographia Poetica*, pp. 44-46.

<sup>8</sup> Irving. *History of Scottish Poetry*.

<sup>9</sup> Mackenzie. *Lives and Characters of Scottish Writers*. Vol. II, pp. 287-295.

<sup>10</sup> Sibbald. *Chronicle of Scottish Poetry*. Vol. II, pp. 396-7.

<sup>11</sup> Bliss. Notes to Wood's *Athenæ*.

<sup>12</sup> Bulleyn or Bullein. The dedicatory epistle of his *Dialogue* was addressed to 'Maister Edward Barrette of Belhous of Essex Esquie.' and dated 'This twelfe of March 1564.' The title-page says, 'Newly corrected,' but no earlier edition is known to exist. It is probable that 'newly corrected' was a publisher's flourish, and that there was no earlier impression of the book. It was reissued in 1573 and again in



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known physician, published his 'Dialogue bothe pleasaunte and pietifull, wherein is a goodly regimēte against the fever Pestilence with a consolacion and comfort against death.' This contains a good deal of medical lore, interspersed with amusing observations and descriptions. Among the latter is an elaborate account of Parnassus, put into the mouth of Crispine, an apothecary, who, having mentioned Homer, Hesiod, Ennius and Lucan, proceeds to describe Gower, Lidgate, Chaucer, Skelton and Barclay.

The notice of Barclay is not a long one, but its importance is vital to the biographer:

'Then Bartlet, with an hoopyng russet long coate, with a pretie hooide in his necke and five knottes upon his girdle after Francis tricks. He was borne beyonde the cold river of Twede.'

This piece of evidence, coming as it does, from a contemporary and from an Ely man,<sup>1</sup> is a valuable aid in deciding the issue of a much-debated problem.

Barclay himself does not shed much light on the mystery of his birth. He seems to have admired the Scottish king, for the *Ship of Fools*, written at St. Mary Ottery in Devonshire, 1508-9, contains six<sup>2</sup> stanzas devoted to vigorous praise of James IV.

These six stanzas follow immediately after some adulatory lines on Henry VIII which were more or less obligatory in a long pretentious poem and which the poet had adapted from Locher's praise of the Emperor Maximilian, noting the fact in the margin, thus—

1578, and must have been fairly popular, for Nash refers to it in his 'Address to all Christian Readers,' prefixed to 'Have with you to Saffron Waldon,' 1596.

<sup>1</sup> There is a valuable account of William Bullein in A. H. Bullen's *Elizabethans*.

<sup>2</sup> Stanzas 1570-1575. The chapter in Barclay is entitled 'Of the ruynē and decay of the holy fayth catholyke and dymynucion of the Empyre.' Pynson, 1509, fol. ccxii, Cawood, 1570; fol. 200, Jamieson, p. 192. Vol. II.

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'Mutatur laus maximiliani romanorum regis in laudem henrici octavi anglorum regis.'

The lines on James IV of Scotland are original and not called for by the context. In the margin Barclay writes:

'Addicio alexandri Barclay. Jacobi scotorum regis strenuissimi a magnanimitate laus summa.'

James is represented as prudent, strong, magnanimous, and bold. There is a personal tone about the stanzas, as if Barclay had more than an Englishman's interest in Scottish affairs. He even takes the trouble to write an acrostic on Jacobus!

st. 1572:

I n prudence pereles is this moste comely kynge  
A nd as for his strength and magnanymyte  
C oncernynge his noble dedes in every thyng  
O ne founde on grounde lyke to hym can nat be  
B y byrth borne to boldnes and audacyte  
U nder the bolde planet of Mars the champion  
S urely to subdue his ennemyes echone.'

But the Scottish king is poor, and here there is a very strong personal flavour:

st. 1573:

'Mars hath hym chosyn: all other set asyde  
To be in practyse of Batayle without pere  
Save ryches lacketh his manfull myght to gyde  
He hath nat plentye of all thyng as is here  
The cause is that stormes in season of the yere  
Destroyeth the corne engendryng so scarsnes  
Which thyng moche hurteth this Prynces  
worthynes.'

Such lines<sup>1</sup> appear to spring from strong national feeling, and written as they were just a few years before

<sup>1</sup> Pompen. *English versions of the Ship of Fools*, p. 154.

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Flodden Field, they seem to be a possible testimony that the man who composed them was Scottish in sympathy and tradition if not actually by birth.

On the other hand it should be remembered that the bulk of the *Ship of Fools* was written during the reign of Henry VII, and that the praises of Henry VIII were originally intended as eulogies of his father and adapted to meet altered circumstances after his death. In this case it is not improbable that the whole passage may be an elaborate and diplomatic reflection of Henry VII's policy of peace with Scotland. Both Ferdinand of Aragon and Henry exerted themselves to the utmost to detach the Scots from their hereditary alliance with France, and in 1503 this was thought to have been effected by the marriage of Henry's eldest daughter, Margaret, to the Scottish King, James IV.

There are numerous other references to Scots and Scotland scattered throughout Barclay's works, but none with such a distinct personal colouring. However, in the *Mirror of Good Maners* (Pynson c. 1523, Cawood 1570) the following stanza occurs, and has not, I think, been noticed before. It is quite original and gratuitous and occurs in the section of the poem devoted to a discussion of 'Temperance,' with the title, 'Of the duetie of a Citizen anenst a forriner':<sup>1</sup>

'When from this wretched life at last thou must depart,  
And come to heaven gates to see the eternall king,  
It shall not be asked what countrey man thou art,  
Frenche, English, *Scot*, Lombard, Picard or Fleming,  
But onely shalbe asked thy merite and living,  
A poore *Scot* of good life shall finde him better then,  
Then some riche Lumbarde, or noble English man.'

There is a suspicion of sadness here that would seem to indicate that Barclay had not always found kind treatment in the country of his adoption.

<sup>1</sup>Pynson's edition sign. g. 6. Cawood's edition sign. f. 5 v.

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Although it appears likely that Barclay was of Scottish nationality, it is only fair to those biographers who held an opposite view, to state that there is a probability that Barclay may have been born of Scottish parents in England, and have inherited a respect and love for Scottish traditions from them.

All through his life Barclay was connected with the southern counties, and there is nothing strange in the fact that Wood should assign him to Somersetshire, or Warton<sup>1</sup> to Devonshire or Gloucestershire. Poor Wood<sup>2</sup> has been severely censured by Irving<sup>3</sup> for calling the poet Alexander de Barklay, and for saying that he probably came from a place of the same name in Somerset. He is justified in the one instance because Barclay himself, in the uncertain spelling of the time, writes his name 'Alexander de Barklay' in his translation of the Prologue of James Locher,<sup>4</sup> introducing the *Ship of Fools*; and in the other because there is, in spite of Irving's statement to the contrary, a place-name Berkeley in Somersetshire.

In John Collinson's *History of Somerset*,<sup>5</sup> there is a description of Berkeley, a small parish in the hundred of Frome. Moreover, the historian of the county says:

'This parish gave birth and name to Alexander de Berkley or Barclei, an elegant writer of the sixteenth century.'

The Gloucestershire Berkeleys were a very ancient noble family. According to the genealogical tree included in Fosbroke's *History of Gloucester*,<sup>6</sup> the Scottish Barclays descended from the sixth son, Richard, of

<sup>1</sup> *History of English Poetry*. Ed. 1778. Vol. II, p. 240.

<sup>2</sup> *Athenæ Oxonienses*.

<sup>3</sup> *History of Scottish Poetry*.

<sup>4</sup> Pynson, fol. vi; Jamieson, p. 5.

<sup>5</sup> *History of Somerset*. Vol. II, p. 202.

<sup>6</sup> *History of Gloucester*. Vol. I, p. 451.

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Maurice, third Lord of Berkeley. A *History of the Scottish Barclays*,<sup>1</sup> compiled a few years ago, mentions:

'The Scottish Barclays are cadets of the ancient House of Berkeley in Gloucestershire.'

The name Alexander Barclay seems to have been quite a common one, for it occurs frequently in the 'History' of the main branch of the Scottish family, though there is no reference which could possibly be applied to the poet. It is not outrageous, then, to connect him with Gloucestershire, since the powerful family, of which he was to be a not insignificant member, had its origin there.

Nothing but the intimate knowledge Barclay displays in the *Ship of Fools* of the district, and the fact that he was employed at the College of Saint Mary, Ottery, could authorize Warton and Pits<sup>2</sup> before him, to claim Devonshire as the county of the poet's birth.

But the authority of such facts is valuable authority, and completely justifies the attempt to associate Barclay with a county obviously familiar to him, when so much of his life is shrouded in obscurity.

Jamieson<sup>3</sup> adduces the Scottish element in Barclay's vocabulary as a very strong proof of his Scottish origin. But, as Aurelius Pompen<sup>4</sup> has remarked in his book on the English Versions of the *Ship of Fools*, the words cited by Jamieson as typically Scotch at this period, were not exclusively Scotch but common in the dialectal English of the day. Theories based on words when the language was in a state of flux, will not hold water.

If he were born in Scotland, and it is impossible to be dogmatic about such a very uncertain matter, Barclay

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Scottish Barclays*, 1915, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Relationum Historicarum de Rebus Anglicis MDCXIX*, p. 745.  
'Alexander Barcleius . . . patria, ut probabile est, Devoniensis.'

<sup>3</sup> Jamieson, p. xxx, *Ship of Fools*. 2 Vols, 1874.

<sup>4</sup> P. 261. Note 2.

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was for all essential purposes an English literary figure, and must have crossed the border early. Frequent allusions to Croydon in his 'Eclogues' would seem to promise an early acquaintance with the place—indeed, it might be inferred that the poet had resided there as a boy:

'While I in youth in Croydon towne did dwell,'

if it were not dangerous to infer anything from the tantalising medley of personal and impersonal remarks in his pastoral poems. A glance at the next line:

'Often to the court I coles brought to sell'

forbids any too easy assumption. However, the place-name appears very often, and Barclay was buried at Croydon,<sup>1</sup> so some sort of connection with the town appears obvious.

There is no record of Barclay's attendance at either of the English Universities, but Wood assigns him to Oxford, particularly to Oriel, of which Thomas Cornish, later a patron of the poet's, was Provost (1493-1507). From an allusion to Cambridge in the *Eclogues*, Warton assumes that Barclay studied there:

'Once in *Cambridge* I heard a scollar say.'

It was quite customary for Scottish students to attend English Universities and Barclay may have studied at Oxford or at Cambridge, but in the absence of any definite and trustworthy information it is impossible to do more than conjecture. He certainly obtained a degree, for the title-page of his translation of Sallust's *Jugurthine War* alludes to him as 'Syr Alexander Barclay, preest.' From the various references to foreign universities in his works, it might be assumed that Barclay, like Colet and many another Tudor scholar, travelled and attended

<sup>1</sup> Lyson's *Environs of London*. Notice of Parish Register at Croydon. 'June 10th 1552 Alexander Barkley sepult.' Vol. I, p. 193.

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some of the well-known continental seats of learning. It is more than probable that he spent some time in Paris. A chapter in the *Ship of Fools*<sup>1</sup> is devoted to the discussion of 'Unprofitable Study,' and in his *Addicio* to this, Barclay confesses that his student days had been full of folly.

st. 431:

'The great foly / the pryde / and the enormyte  
Of our studentis / and theyr obstynate errour  
Causeth me to wryte two sentences or thre  
More than I fynde wrytyn in myne actoure  
The tyme hath ben whan I was conductoure  
Of moche foly / which nowe my mynde doth greve  
Wherfor of this shyp syns I am governoure.  
I dare be bold myne owne vyce to repreve.'

It is difficult to imagine the sober, heavily moral Barclay of the later poems indulging in any wanton fun! But the lines are indubitable proof of his having been a student. In the same chapter of the *Ship* Barclay abandons himself pretty vigorously to the pleasure of satirising the folly of Logicians. The following stanza is original, and is thought by Pompen to have a direct reference to the two schools of Scholastic Philosophy in Paris, the Scotists and the Nominalists, whose protagonists were respectively Pierre Tateret or Tarteret and Thomas Bricot.

st. 424:

'There is nought else but Est and non est  
Blaberynge and chydyng / as it were beawlys wyfe  
They argue nought els but to prove man a beest  
Homo est Asinus is cause of moche stryf  
Thus passe forth these folys the dayes of theyr lyfe  
In two syllabis / not gyvyng advertence  
To other cunnynge / doctryne / nor scyence.'

<sup>1</sup> Pynson, fol. lx; Cawood, fol. 52; Jamieson, p. 142.

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This is possibly a reaction from the elaborate technicalities Barclay had been forced to endure in the lecture-room of Tarteret or Bricot.

Very probably, also, Barclay was acquainted with Robert Gaguin, the great French humanist, or at least, with the humanist circle in Paris. For in Barclay's version of Brant's *Narrenschiff* occurs a chapter on 'Worldly Fools,' which has no parallel in Locher nor in Brant, and which consequently does not appear in the versions of Rivière, Drouyn or Watson. In the margin of his edition the English poet annotates:

'Scribitur in fatuum nimis mundo  
confidentem: et est carmen dni Roberti Gaguini.'

This Latin poem of Gaguin's, *De fatuis mundanis*, was printed anonymously, as Pompen observes,<sup>2</sup> at the end of the French edition of Locher's translation of the *Narrenschiff*.

The striking thing is, not that Barclay incorporated the poem into his work, for Badius did the same, but that he should know its authorship.<sup>3</sup> Here, if anywhere, is a proof that Barclay had indeed been to Paris and was intimate with the humanists to whom no work of Gaguin's, however fugitive, would be unknown.

Bale attributes to Barclay, on the authority of John Alen, the *Castle of Labour*, a translation of Pierre Gringoire's *Chasteau de Labour*, 1499. In spite of Professor A. W. Pollard's statement to the contrary, there is a good deal of reason to doubt this attribution of the work to Barclay; but if it is his, it must have been undertaken at the instigation of Antoine Vérard, the eminent Paris

<sup>1</sup> Entitled 'Of folys that ar over worldly.' Pynson, fol. cclxv; Cawood, fol. 252; Jamieson, Vol. II, p. 317.

<sup>2</sup> *English versions of the Ship of Fools*, p. 103. Paris, Geoffroy de Marnef, 8th March, 1498; Lyons, Jacques Sacon, 28th June, 1498.

<sup>3</sup> There is a probability that Barclay may have 'oversene' Badius's work, *La Nef des Folles*, 1498, 1500, and the *Navis Stultifera*, 1505.



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printer, while the poet was a student of the University, c. 1500-1503.

The first trustworthy notice of biographical importance dates from 1509, when Richard Pynson published Barclay's translation of Brant's *Narrenschiff* with the title *The Ship of Fools*. Barclay wrote his translation at Ottery in Devonshire:

'This present Boke named the Shyp of folys of the worlde was translated in the College of saynt mary Otery in the counte of Devonshyre: out of Laten/ Frenche/ and Doche into Englysshe tonge by Alexander Barclay Preste: and at that tyme Chaplen in the sayd College. translated the yere of our Lorde God M.CCCCCviii. Inprentyd in the Cyte of London in Fletestre at the signe of Saynt George. By Rycharde Pynson to hys Coste and charge: Ended the yere of our Saviour M.d.ix. The. xiiii. day of December.'

On his return from the Continent Barclay must have entered Holy Orders. He dedicated his work to Thomas Cornish, suffragan bishop of Bath and Wells and titular bishop of Tyne, who had, it seems, ordained him (*quia sacros ad ordines per te sublimatus et promotus*), and bestowed benefits on him (*'multisque aliis tuis beneficiis ditatus.'*) Cornish was warden of the college of Saint Mary, Ottery, from December 1st, 1459-June, 1511, and Barclay addresses his ecclesiastical superior in a humble strain:

'Venerandissimo in Christo Patri ac domino: domino Thomæ Cornisshe Tenensis pontifici, ac diocesis Badonensis Suffraganio vigilantissimo, suæ paternitatis, *capellanus* humilimus Alexander Barclay, sui ipsius recommendationem cum omni summissione et reverentia.'

The College at Ottery was founded by John Grandisson, bishop of Exeter, in 1337, 'to the honour of

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Christ Jesus, the blessed Virgin Mary, St. Edward King and Confessor and all Saints.' In his foundation letter<sup>1</sup> Grandisson describes minutely the personnel of the College. It is to consist of four principal officers, a Warden, a Minister, a Precentor and a Sacristan; four simple canons; eight choral vicars in priest's orders; one 'presbyter parochialis'; one 'presbyter matutinalis'; and 'unus qui capellanus beate Marie nuncupetur'; together with two clerks called 'aquebajuli,' eight other clerks called 'secondaries,' eight choir boys and a 'magister scholarum.'

Pompen<sup>2</sup> has remarked that since Barclay refers to himself as 'capellanus' and 'chaplen,' he must have held the office of 'capellanus beate Marie' at Saint Mary Ottery. This assumption is justified by allusions of a personal nature in the *Ship of Fools*. The most amusing as well as the most interesting of these is preluded by a Latin title:

'Alexander Barklay ad fatuos ut dent locum octo secundariis beate marie de Oterey qui quidem prima huius ratis transtra merentur.'

The chapter embodying<sup>3</sup> the stanza is entitled:

'Of suche as nedys wyll continue in theyr foly nat withstandynge holsom erudicion,'

and attention is drawn to the satire in the Register where mention is made of:

'An addicion of the secundaries of Otery saynt Mary/in Devynshyre.'

st. 531.

'Soft folys soft/a lytell slacke your pace  
Till I have space you to order by degre

<sup>1</sup> G. Oliver. *Monasticon Diæcesis Exoniensis*, p. 265. 'Ordinatio fundatoris ecclesiæ collegiatæ, S. Mariæ de Otery per Pontificem Romanum ratificata.'

<sup>2</sup> *English versions of the Ship of Fools*, p. 284.

<sup>3</sup> Pynson, fol. lxxij; Cawood, fol. 66; Jamieson, p. 175.

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I have eyght neyghbours / that firste shall have a  
place  
Within this my shyp / for they most worthy be  
They may theyr lernynge receyve costeles and fre.  
Theyr wallys abuttinge and ioynynge to the  
scoles.  
No thyng they can / yet nought wyll they lerne  
nor se  
Therefore shall they gyde this one shyp of foles.'

A good deal of exasperation finds expression here, and it is easy to understand the source of it when one has discovered what Barclay's duties consisted of in his capacity as 'capellanus,' and when one has located the 'secondaries' successfully. Grandisson among his definitions gives the careful instruction<sup>1</sup>:

'Volumus preterea quod pueri choriste dicte ecclesie ad loca secundariorum, cum ad virilem vocem pervenerint, necnon secundarii, ad gradum vicariorum pre aliis extraneis ceteris paribus admittantur.'

This is further amplified in the 'Statuta collegii Sancte Marie de Otery'<sup>2</sup>:

'Item statuimus quod nullus ad gradum secundarii ibidem citra 19<sup>m</sup> annum admittatur, sed semper provideatur quod competentis sit stature et, voce puerili permutata, sonoritatem in voce virili, et scienciam legendi et cantandi habeat competentem.'

Choir boys could become 'secondaries' if their voices had broken and if they could intone!

The relations between the 'capellanus' and the 'octo clerici qui secundarii dicantur' are made clear in the foundation letter and the Statutes. Barclay had to

<sup>1</sup> G. Oliver. *Monasticon Dioecesis Exoniensis*, p. 265.

<sup>2</sup> G. Oliver. *Monasticon Dioecesis Exoniensis*, p. 268. 'Statuta collegii Sancte Marie de Otery.'

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combine the duties of librarian and instructor to the choirboys.

‘Prefatus vero capellanus beate Marie habeat curam et custodiam librorum et ornamentorum ejusdem capelle ex comissione et tradicionem sacriste predicti, et ad missam ejusdem Virginis pulset per se vel alium, puerosque choristas tam in cantibus quam instrumentis organicis doceat et informet.’<sup>1</sup>

He had to supervise the ‘secondaries’:

‘Item statuimus quod cantor et capallanus beate Marie per se vel alios teneantur semper pueros choristas et clericos de secunda forma ad hoc habiles in cantu organico et organicis instrumentis informare; et videant quod tam clerici secundarii quam pueri frequentent missam beate Marie, vel gravissime puniantur.’<sup>2</sup>

He was responsible for their punctuality:

‘Item injungimus in virtute obediencie tam cantori quam sacriste ac etiam capellano beate Marie quod videant qui secundarii tarde venerint ad missam beate Marie vel male ibi se gerunt, et eos faciant puniri per custodem et senescallos sicut malos et ingratos beate Marie servos, si ejusdem Virginis adjutorium in hora mortis desiderant optinere.’

It must have been after a particularly strenuous time with the ‘secondaries’ and probably with painful memories of their ‘moche foly’ as choir boys, that Barclay wrote his vigorous indictment of them and sent them off for ever to Narrogonia.

For his duties as ‘capellanus’<sup>3</sup> Barclay received an allowance of eightpence per week besides a yearly

<sup>1</sup> P. 266. *Monasticon Dioecesis Exoniensis*. G. Oliver.

<sup>2</sup> P. 269. *Monasticon Dioecesis Exoniensis*. G. Oliver.

<sup>3</sup> P. 260. *Monasticon Dioecesis Exoniensis*. G. Oliver.

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stipend of twelve shillings; but exacting as they were, they evidently left him plenty of leisure to devote to his literary labours. So Herculean a task as the translation of the *Narrenschiff* could not be accomplished in a day, and Barclay must have spent many pleasant, studious hours composing the work by which his name will always be remembered, in the library of the College at Ottery, which is known to have possessed a large number of valuable books.<sup>1</sup>

One or two references made in the *Ship of Fools* to actual persons, shed some light on this period of Barclay's life. First of all there was his 'welbeloved frende syr John Bysshop<sup>2</sup> of Exeter,' of whom Barclay wrote: st. 1788:

'Wysdome shall men avaunce unto honour  
So Barclay wyssheth and styll shall tyll he dye  
Parfytely pray to god our creatour  
That vertuous men and wyse may have degre  
(As they ar worthy) of lawde and dygnyte  
But namely to his frende bysshop by name  
Before all other desyreth he the same.'

st. 1789:

'Whiche was the first oversear of this warke  
And unto his frende gave his advysement  
It nat to suffer to slepe styll in the darke  
But to be publysshid abrode and put to prent  
To thy monycion my bysshop I assent  
Besechynge god that I that day may se  
That thy honour may prospere and augment  
So that thy name and offyce may agre.'

The marginal note is not very helpful:

'Familiarem suum Johannem bisshop de eo benemeritum commendat.'

<sup>1</sup> G. Oliver. *Monasticon Dioecesis Exoniensis*, p. 261 (note).

<sup>2</sup> Chapter entitled 'The description of a wyse man,' Pynson, fol. ccxlviii; Cawood, fol. 234; Jamieson, p. 272. Vol. II.

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Bishop cannot have been a well-known person as he has completely eluded the vigilance of the historians. Perhaps, as Pompen suggests,<sup>1</sup> and as his title of 'sir' indicates, he was a priest of the neighbourhood. In any case, whoever he was, he had shown marked kindness to Barclay, had read through his translation and had advised him to have it printed. So we owe the *Ship* to his persuasory powers!

In his chapter entitled 'Of the Extorcion of Knyghtis,'<sup>2</sup> Barclay writes four original stanzas praising his 'mayster Kyrkham' and damning one 'Mansell of Otery':

st. 1158:

'Good offycers ar good and commendable  
And manly knyghtes that lyve in rightwysenes;  
But they that do nat ar worthy of a bable  
Syns by theyr pryde pore people they oppres  
My mayster kyrkham for his perfyte mekenes  
And supportacion of men in povertye  
Out of my shyp shall worthely be fre.'

st. 1159:

'I flater nat I am his true servytour  
His chaplayne and bede man whyle my lyfe shall  
endure  
Requyrynge god to exalt hym to honour  
And of his Prynces favour to be sure  
For as I have sayd I knowe no creature  
More manly rightwyse wyse discrete and sad  
But thoughe he be good/yet other ar als bad.'

st. 1160:

'They shall unnamyd my shypis have in cure  
And other offycers who so ever they be  
Whiche in extorcion and falshode them inure

<sup>1</sup> *English versions of the Ship of Fools*, p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> Pynson, fol. clxi; Cawood, fol. 152; Jamieson, p. 80. (Vol. II.)

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Hopynge by the same to come to dignyte  
And by extorcion to augment theyr degre  
Mansell of Otery for powlynge of the pore  
Were nat his great wombe/here sholde have an ore.'

st. 1161:

'But for his body is so great and corporate  
And so many burdens his brode back doth charge  
If his great burthen cause hym to come to late  
Yet shall the knave be Captayne of a barge  
Where as ar bawdes/and so sayle out at large  
About our shyp to spye about for prayes  
For therupon hath he lyved all his dayes.'

Kirkham is a historical name, and in his *Worthies of Devon* John Prince<sup>1</sup> says that a Sir John Kirkham, whose arms were 'Argent 3 Lions rampant Gules, within a Bordure ingrained Sable,' was High-Sheriff of Devon, 1523, and a great benefactor to Honiton. He is not to be confused with the Sir John Kirkham, who, according to Izacke,<sup>2</sup> was High-Sheriff in 1507, and whose Arms were different—'Or on a bend Gules 3 Mulletts Argent.' Barclay must have received more than a little kindness from Kirkham, but it is difficult to infer from his fervent commendation the exact nature of the benefits his 'mayster' bestowed on him. From the phrase 'true servytour, chaplayne and bedeman' it is just possible to assume that Barclay may have been appointed private chaplain to the knight; but then the following words, 'whyle my lyfe shall endure' are a difficulty, besides the fact that at this time his chief business was that of 'Chaplen in the College of saynt Mary Otery.' The freedom of figurative speech must always be allowed to a poet, however, and perhaps

<sup>1</sup> Published 1701, p. 434.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Izacke, *Antiquities of the City of Exeter*, 1667. Appendix. 'A perfect Catalogue of all the Sheriffs of the County of Devon, with their several coâts of armory described.'

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Barclay's praise was anticipatory rather than retrospective!

That objectionable person, Mansell of Otery, whose hobby was 'powlynge of the pore,' remains a mystery. His identity is difficult, indeed impossible, to establish, for no facts, as Pompen regrets,<sup>1</sup> have been recorded in the Devonshire Histories which could have reference to such a man. Perhaps he was a tax-collector of the Empson and Dudley type; and perhaps Mansell was not his real name. One thing is certain, that Barclay's verses were aimed at a living target—that the object of his satire really existed.

Barclay was not free from worldly care in his quiet retreat at Ottery. He has occasion to indulge his sarcasm in stanza 44 of the *Ship*, where he pillories another *bête-noire*, the 'Person of Honyngton.'<sup>2</sup> He is reproaching the clergy for their slackness:

st. 44:

'But if I durst trouth playnely utter and expresse,  
This is the special cause of this Inconvenience.  
That gretest foles/and fullest of lewdnes  
Havyng least wyt: and symplest Science  
Ar fyrst promoted: and have greatest reverence.  
For if one can flater/and bere a hawke on his Fyst,  
He shalbe made Person of Honyngton or of Clyst.'

st. 45:

'But he that is in Stody ay ferme and diligent.  
And without al favour prechyth Chrystys lore  
Of al the Comontye now e adayes is sore shent.  
And by Estates thretened to Pryson oft therfore.  
Thus what avayle is it/to us to Stody more:  
To knowe outhr scripture/trouth/wysedom/or  
vertue  
Syns fewe/or none without favour dare them shewe.'

<sup>1</sup> *English versions of the Ship of Fools*, p. 170.

<sup>2</sup> The chapter entitled, 'Inprofytable bokes.' Pynson, fol. xiii; Cawood, fol. 1; Jamieson, p. 19.



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Poor Barclay! The 'Person of Honyngton' was anathema to him, no doubt. The rectors of Honiton from 1500-1527 were John Yeate,<sup>1</sup> who died in 1505, and Henry Ferman, or Feyrman, who seems to have held the living from 17th May, 1505, to 16th April, 1527.<sup>2</sup> It is probably, Pompen notes,<sup>3</sup> to Ferman that Barclay refers here. The patron of the living was Sir William Courtenay, Knight, and possibly the translator of the *Narrenschiff* and Ferman had been rivals for his favour. That the latter had won the day, and the rectory, by the employment of a little judicious flattery and an efficient knowledge of hawking seems to have rankled in Barclay's mind.<sup>4</sup>

The Parson of Clyst cannot be summoned from the shades, for Clyst is such a ubiquitous name in Devonshire, Clyst-Hidon, Clyst St. George, Clyst St. Mary, Clist St. Lawrence, Clist St. Gabriel, and Clist St. Michael all being benefices in the neighbourhood of

<sup>1</sup> G. Oliver. *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Devon*. Vol. II, p. 77.

<sup>2</sup> Feyrman's will is dated 7th November, 1526.

<sup>3</sup> *English versions of the Ship of Fools*, p. 207.

<sup>4</sup> Henry Feyrman's will which exists at Somerset House (152 b, 17 Porch) reveals him as a generous man. He calls himself 'chaunter of saint Mary Ottrye' and requests that his body be buried 'within the newe porche of Ottrye.' To the 'newe werke of the parishe church there' he bequeaths 20 shillings, and 'to the Colege there of Ottrye for to have a perpetuall masse kept and saide at the awter there of saint Antony for me and maister Dodman, to be ordred by my executors and the maisters of the said college, 50 marks.' He leaves money for the glazing of three windows 'of the newe ambulatory within the parishe churche of Honyngton,' and treats his servants generously, leaving to two a year's wages and their livery and 'to every of them a horse.' Feyrman was probably an Ottery man and well known to Ottery people. The mention of 'Maister Doctor Bromstone mynister of Ottorye,' 'Maister Olyver Smyth, Wardeyn there,' and 'Sir John Fychett, Sexton there,' confirms his connection with the place.

Walter Dudman was appointed Warden of the College, October 16th 1518. He was succeeded by Oliver Smith, June 26th, 1525, who with Roger Bramston, minister, subscribed to the King's supremacy, July 12th, 1534.

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Ottery, that it is difficult to decide which is meant. Perhaps it is just as well that he remains anonymous—*requiescat in pace!*

Barclay is supposed to have left Ottery when Cornish retired from the Wardenship of the College, June, 1511. It is possible that he ceased to reside there before this date, as the 'Shyp' speaks of his being 'at that tyme (1508) Chaplen in the sayd College,' as if he had resigned his position at Ottery when the Dedication was written, December, 1509.

The rest of Barclay's literary ventures were, in all probability, undertaken at Ely, and the inference is, that after seeing his *Ship of Fools* through the press, he became a Benedictine monk and joined the monastery at Ely. His fame as a translator and man of letters seems to have spread, for he had such excellent patrons as Thomas, duke of Norfolk, the victor of Flodden, Sir Giles Alyngton, and Richard, earl of Kent.

The first fruits of his leisure at Ely seem to have been the 'Eclogues' or 'Egloges,' which first introduced the pastoral convention to English literature. These poems,<sup>1</sup> the first three a translation of the 'Miseriæ Curialium' of Æneas Sylvius, otherwise Pope Pius II, and last two a free rendering of Mantuan, are rich in allusions to Ely celebrities and well-known people of the day. Alcock, Morton, Colet, and Sir Edward Howard share the poet's praise.

Morton was Bishop of Ely, 1479-1486, and was the first to attempt to drain the fens. He was succeeded by John Alcock (1486-1500), a great benefactor to Ely, where he built much of the Episcopal Palace and a handsome mortuary Chapel in the Cathedral for his tomb. That Barclay was personally acquainted with these two men is not likely; but he revered their memory as the following passage from Eclogue I testifies—

<sup>1</sup> First published in collected form by Cawood in 1570 and appended to his edition of the *Ship of Fools*.

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referring to Morton in the first few lines and then to his successor, Alcock:

<sup>1</sup>O Cornix, Cornix, fele howe my hart doth quake,  
On him when I thinke my heart is full of payne,  
Would God that we could get him to live agayne.  
What time he lived some did him blame iwis,  
Which since he died do him sore lacke and mis.

None other shepherd might with that man compare,  
In during his life we neded not to care,  
But ever sith time that he was dead and gone  
We suffer wrongs, defender have we none,  
He was the patron of thinges pastorall,  
His face and favour forget I never shall.

Yes since his dayes a cocke was in the fen,  
I knowe his voyce among a thousande men,  
He taught, he preached, he mended every wrong,  
But Coridon alas no good thing bideth long.  
He all was a cocke, he wakened us from slepe,  
And while we slumbred he did our foldes kepe.  
No cur, no foxes, nor butchers dogges wood  
Coulde hurte our fouldes, his watching was so good,  
The hungry wolves which that time did abounde  
What time he crowed abashed at the sounde.  
This cocke was no more abashed of the foxe  
Then is a lion abashed of an oxe.

This was a father of thinges pastorall,  
And that well sheweth his Church cathedrall.  
There was I lately about the middest of May,  
Coridon his Church is twenty sith more gay  
Then all the Churches betwene the same and Kent,  
There sawe I his tome and Chapell excellent.

<sup>1</sup> Spenser Sociey reprint, p. 5. Cawood sign. A.iiij.

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If the people were as pleasaunt as the place  
Then were it paradise of pleasour and solace,  
Then might I truely right well finde in my heart  
There still to abide and never to departe.  
But since that this cocke by death hath left his song  
Trust me Coridon there many a thing is wrong,  
When I sawe his figure lye in the Chapell side,  
Like death for weping I might no longer bide.'

The reference to the unpleasantness of the inhabitants of Ely is typical of Barclay, and reminiscent of the caustic humour which occurs sporadically in the *Ship of Fools*. There is a possibility that the 'foxe' and the 'butchers dogges wood' may veil covert allusions to Richard Foxe, bishop of Winchester and Lord Privy Seal to Henry VII and his son, and to Wolsey. There does not seem much point in introducing such allusions here; but the allegory must not be pressed. It is more important to notice that, after the death of Alcock, life at Ely monastery was harder for the monks. In Eclogue III there is a long lament for Alcock and a similar complaint of the unsatisfactory conditions that prevailed after his decease:

'Nowe I remember the shepheard of the fen,  
And what care for him demeaned all his men.  
And shepheard Morton when he durst not appeare,  
Howe his olde servauntes were carefull of his chere.

. . . . .

My harte sore mourneth when I must specify  
Of the gentle Cocke which sange so mirily,  
He and his flocke were like an union,  
Conjoyned in one without discention,  
All the fayre Cockes which in his dayes crewe  
When death him touched did his departing rewe,

<sup>1</sup> Spenser Society reprint, p. 26. Cawood sign. Ci verso.

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The pretie palace by him made in the fen,  
The maides, widowes, the wives and the men,  
With deadly dolour were pearsed to the heart  
When death constrayned this shepheard to departe.

. . . . .

The mighty walles of Ely monastery,  
The stones, rockes, and towres semblably,  
The marble pillers and images echeone,  
Swet all for sorowe when this good cocke was gone.

. . . . .

And shortly after this Cocke was dead and gone,  
The shepheard Roger could not bide long alone,  
But shortly after false death stole him away,  
His worthy report still liveth till this day.

. . . . .

His death was mourned from Ely forty mile.  
These worthy heardes and many other mo  
Were with their wethers in love conjoynd so,  
That more they cured by witte and pacience,  
Then dreadful drome can do with violence.'

The 'shepheard Roger' to whom Barclay makes such loving reference was Roger Westminster, sacrist of the Cathedral, who was elected Prior on 28th July, 1478. According to Bentham,<sup>1</sup> 'he continued to administer the Sacrist's office five or six years after he became Prior; having, it seems, begun some great repairs about the Western Tower of the Church, before his election.

In 1495, October 12th, he appointed Mr. William Doughty, the Bishop's Official, and Robert Colvyle Cellerer, and William Wittlesey, Monks of his Convent, to appear for him in Convocation, October 19th, and to excuse his absence on account of Sickness: the same excuse he likewise sent, January 15, in 1496-7. He

<sup>1</sup> J. Bentham. *History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Ely*. p. 223.

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was Prior above twenty years; for I find that he, with the Convent, presented a Clerk to the Vicarage of Mel-dreth, November 15th, 1499. He was succeeded by Robert Colville, who was Prior October 30th, 1500.' 'Dreadful drome' is more difficult to trace.

The bishops of Ely<sup>1</sup> during Barclay's residence there were James Stanley (1506-1515) and Nicholas West (1515-1533). Stanley, third son of the first earl of Derby, a pluralist, a considerable benefactor to the collegiate church of Manchester and to Jesus College, Cambridge, and a man of indifferent moral character, was very seldom at Ely. It may be to him or to his deputy that Barclay refers—hardly to West, who, though he lived in great magnificence, relieved the poor with much bounty. Nor is it feasible that the poet intends to stigmatize Goodrich (1533-54), an ardent reformer of his see, for, by the advent of the Reformation, Barclay had left Ely.

A reference in the fourth Eclogue to the death of the gallant admiral Sir Edward Howard,<sup>2</sup> is an indication

<sup>1</sup> Dugdale. *Monasticon Anglicanum*. Vol. I, p. 468.

<sup>2</sup> Holinshed, in his *Chronicles*, gives the following account of the death of Sir Edward Howard, Lord High Admiral, and son of the duke of Norfolk:

'The Lord admerall by the counsell of a Spanish Knight called Sir Alfonse Charant, affirming that he might enter the baie with little jeopardie called to him William fitz Williams, William Cooke, John Colleie and Sir Wolstan Browne as his chief and most trustie friends making them privie to his intent; which was to take on him the whole enterprise, with their assistance. And so on S. Markes daie, which is the five and twentieth of Aprill, the said admerall put himselfe in a small row barge, appointing three other small rowing ships, and his owne ship bote to attend him; and therewith upon a sudden rowed into the baie, where Prior Johan (Pregian, the French Admiral) had moored up his gallies just to the ground: Which gallies with the bulworkes on the land, shot so terrible that they that followed were afraid. But the admerall passed forward and as soon as he came to the gallies, he entered and drove out the Frenchmen. William Fitz Williams within his ship was sore hurt with a quarell. The baie was shallow, and the other ships could not enter, for the

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of the probable date at which the poems were written. Barclay profited by the melancholy occasion to write a long elegy on the son of his patron, Norfolk, which he called 'The Towre of vertue and honour.' Howard was killed off Brest, in the expedition against the French, 1513.

..... 'but it is lamentable  
To heare a Captayne so good and honorable,  
So soone withdrawn by deathes crueltie,  
Before his vertue was at moste hye degree.  
If death for a season had shewed him favour,  
To all his nation he should have bene honour,  
Alas, bolde heartes be nerest death in warre,  
When out of daunger cowardes stande afarre.'

Other illustrious combatants in the 1513 campaign come in for a mention—Sir Gilbert Talbot, deputy of Calais:

'Here is the Talbot manfull and hardy,'  
and Sir Robert Curson:

'The manly Corson within this towre I see.'

Possibly Barclay had heard Colet preach at St. Paul's, when he was in London seeing his *Ship of Fools* through the press; for he makes a gracious reference to him in the fourth Eclogue:

'I aske no palace, nor lodging curious,  
No bed of state, of rayment sumptuous.  
For this I learned of the Dean of Powles,  
I tell thee Codrus, this man hath won some soules.'

tide was spent. Which thing the Frenchmen perceiving, they entered the gallies againe with moris pikes, and fought with the English in the gallies. The admerall perceiving their approch, thought to have entred againe into his row barge, which by violence of the tide was driven downe the streame, and with a pike he was throwne over the boord, and so drowned.'

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Colet was appointed Dean of St. Paul's in 1505, and his friend Erasmus writes of him:<sup>1</sup>

'What was a novelty there, he began preaching at every festival in his cathedral, over and above the special sermons he had to deliver, now at court, now in various other places.'

His sermons soon became a power in London, and 'he used to have a crowded congregation, including most of the leading men both of the city and the court.'

A casual remark, however, is not sufficient evidence to connect Barclay intimately with the English Humanists, though his patron, Sir Giles Alington, left his son in Thomas More's charge, and More was a lifelong friend of Colet.

Barclay's relations with his contemporaries were not always free from asperity. He seems to have disliked Skelton whom Erasmus called 'that incomparable light and ornament of British letters.'

Barclay must have had a genuine horror of bohemianism and a profound incapacity for appreciating exquisite poetic trifles. Skelton was a Poet Laureate, and proud of it, though on the Continent his fellow Laureates could at that time be counted by the dozen. Several bitter allusions to Laureates which occur in the Eclogues have always been held to refer to Skelton, and recall the earlier taunts of the *Ship*:

'Another thing yet is greatly more damnable,  
Of rascolde poetes yet is a shamfull rable,  
Which voyde of wisdomes presumeth to indite,  
Though they have scantly the cunning of a snite:  
And to what vices that princes moste intende,  
Those dare these fooles solemnize and commende.  
Then is he decked as Poete laureate,  
When stinking Thais made him her graduate.

<sup>1</sup> J. H. Lupton. *Life of John Colet*, p. 137.



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Such rascolde drames promoted by Thais,  
Bacchus, Licoris, or yet by Testalis,  
Or by suche other newe forged Muses nine  
Thinke in their mindes for to have wit divine.  
They laude their verses, they boast, they vaunt and jet,  
Though all their cunning be scantly worth a pet.'

This certainly seems intended for the rector of Diss. What the relations were between the two it is difficult to surmise, but the trouble, whatever it was, must have begun early, for already in the *Ship* Barclay is pre-occupied with the folly of Laureates and the frivolity of 'Phyllyp Sparowe.' Among boasters Barclay mentions:

'Some other crowned as Poetis Lawreate,'  
and elsewhere<sup>2</sup> asks:

'Wherear the Phylosophers and Poetis Lawreat?'

But the most direct reference to Skelton occurs in stanza 1962<sup>3</sup>:

'Holde me excusyd: for why my wyll is gode  
Men to induce unto vertue and goodnes  
I wryte no Jest ne tale of Robyn hode  
Nor sowe no sparcles ne sede of vyciousnes  
Wyse men love vertue/ wylde people wantonnes  
It longeth nat to my scyence nor cunnynge  
For Phyllyp the Sparowe the (Dirige) to synge.'

The last line is an undoubted hit at his poetic rival, although, as Pompen observes,<sup>4</sup> the first part of the stanza may have a more general significance, 'to tell a tale of Robin Hood,' being an accepted 'expression for gossiping or telling worthless stories.'

<sup>1</sup> Chapter entitled 'Of the prowde and vayne bostynge of folys.' Pynson, fol. clv; Cawood, fol. 146; Jamieson, p. 64 (Vol. II) st. 1111.

<sup>2</sup> Chapter entitled 'Of the end of worldly honour and power.' Pynson, fol. cxi; Cawood, fol. 104; Jamieson, p. 265, st. 808.

<sup>3</sup> Chapter entitled 'Of folys that ar over worldly.' Pynson, fol. cclxv; Cawood, fol. 252; Jamieson, Vol. II, p. 317.

<sup>4</sup> *English versions of the Ship of Fools*, p. 273.

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Bale, on the authority of Nicholas Brigan, a distinguished antiquary, credits Barclay with a book entitled *Contra Skeltonum*. This, unfortunately, does not seem to have survived the depredations of time, and with it have vanished the reasons for the extraordinary antipathy Barclay manifested towards his contemporary. Skelton, apparently, did not consider Barclay's jibes worthy of a retort; but there are some lines in the *Garlande of Laurell*<sup>1</sup> which might be construed as a retaliation:

'Of Phillip Sparow the lamentable fate,  
The dolefull desteny, and the carefull chaunce,  
Dyvysed by Skelton after the funerall rate;  
Yet sum there be therewith that take grevaunce,  
And grudge thereat with frownyng countenaunce;  
But what of that? hard it is to please all men;  
Who list amende it, let hym set to his penne;  
For the gyse now adays  
Of sum jangelyng jays  
Is to discommende  
That they can not amende,  
Though they wolde spende  
All the wittis they have.  
What ayle them, to deprave  
Phillippe Sparows grave?  
His Dirige, her Commendacioun  
Can be no derogacyoun,  
But myrth and consolacyoun,  
Made by protestacyoun,  
No man to myscontent  
With Phillippis enteremente.

. . . . .

Then such that have disdaynyd  
And of this worke complaynyd,

<sup>1</sup> *Poems of John Skelton*, edited by Richard Hughes, p. 163. (Heinemann, 1924.)

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I pray God they be paynyd  
No wors than is contaynyd  
In verses two or thre  
That folowe as ye may se:  
Luride, cur, livor, volucris pia funera damnas?  
Talis te rapiant rapiunt quæ fata volucrem!  
Est tamen invidia mors tibi continua.'

And so the episode closes.

Skelton's debts to the *Ship* cannot be discussed here. The *Boke of Three Fooles*,<sup>1</sup> once attributed

<sup>1</sup> The true source of the *Boke of Three Fooles* was first revealed by Brie in his *Studien*, p. 18. It is amazing how such a halting, pedestrian production ever came to be associated with Skelton's name. Dyce took it, so he says, from Marshe's edition of Skelton's Works, 1568, and adds in a note: "This piece is a paraphrase of three portions of Brant's *Ship of Fools*: see the Latin version by Locher, *Stultifera Navis* edition, 1497—"Uxorem ducere propter opes; De livore et invidia; and De Voluptate corporali." The inclusion in the canon of Skelton's Works of "The *Boke of Three Fooles*, M. Skelton, Poete Laureate, gave to my Lord Cardynall" deceived a good many scholars amongst others Professor Herford, who in his, 'Literary Relations Between England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century' talks of Skelton following the example set by Geiler von Kaiserberg at Strasburg. There is not the slightest reason to doubt Brie's statement. The two versions, the pseudo-Skelton and the Watson, except for a few minor divergences, are identical, as the following short comparison will indicate:

Pseudo-Skelton.

The Fyrst Fole.

The man that doth wed a wyfe  
For her goodes and her rychesse,  
And not for lygnage femynatife,  
Procureth doloure and dystresse,  
With infynyte payne and hevynesse;  
For she wyll do hym moche sorowe,  
Bothe at evyn and at morowe.

---

Watson (2nd ed. 1517).

'Of hym that weddeth a wyfe for to have her rychesses.' Chapter xlix.

The man the whiche dothe wedde a wyfe  
For her treasour and her rychesse

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to him, and said to have been a paraphrase of three chapters from Barclay's translation, has been proved to be an extract from the prose translation of Henry Watson, published by Wynkyn de Worde in 1509.

Unhappily, Barclay's dislike of Skelton has been insisted on to the detriment of his pleasanter relations with other men.

Very few allusions are made to Barclay by contemporary writers. Henry Bradshaw,<sup>1</sup> a Benedictine monk of the monastery of St. Werburge, Chester, who died in 1513, mentions Barclay in the epilogue to his *Life of St. Werburge of Chester, Englisht 1513*, and printed by Pynson in 1521:

'To all auncient poetes, litell boke, submytte the,  
Whilom flouryng in eloquence facundious  
And to all other whiche present nowe be,  
Fyrst to maister Chaucer and Ludgate sentencious.  
Also to preignaunt Barkley nowe beyng religious,  
To inventive Skelton and poet laureate;  
Praye them all of pardon both erly and late.'

And not for lygnage femynatyfe  
Procureth dolour and dystresse  
With infynyte payne and hevynesse  
For she wyll do hym moche sorowe  
Both at even and at morowe.

<sup>1</sup> Wood, in his *Athenæ Oxonienses* says, 'He was born in the auncient town of Westchester, commonly called the city of Chester; and being much addicted to religion and learning, when a youth, was received among the Benedictine monks of St. Werburge's monastery in the said city. Thence, at riper years, he was sent to Gloucester College in the suburb of Oxon, where after he had passed his course in theology among the novices of his order, he returned to his cell at St. Werburge, and in his elder years wrote, *De antiquitate et magnificentia urbis Chestriæ chronicon* etc and translated from Latin into English a book which he thus entitled *The Lyfe of the glorious Virgin St. Werburge: Also many miracles that God showed for her*, London 1521, quarto. He died in 1513 and was buried in his monastery, leaving then behind him other matters to posterity; but the subject of which they treat I know not.' Of the *De Antiquitate* and the 'other matters' nothing is now known.

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It is ironic that Bradshaw, admiring both, should couple Barclay with the detested Skelton!

But the most interesting and delightful references to Barclay are those made by William Forrest,<sup>1</sup> catholic priest and poet, in his *History of Joseph the Chaiste* and *The Life of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, for they open up a whole vista of what must have been a pleasant friendship, and reveal some important facts concerning Barclay's career. The *History of Joseph* was dedicated to Thomas Howard, fourth duke of Norfolk of the Howard house, and in the Dedication Barclay's name appears:

'Unto whiche ende, O worthye famous Duke!  
A certayne wryter, Alexander Barkeley,  
In eloquent style, all voyde of rebuke,  
The booke of Mancyne in verse did conveye,  
Of Englysche meater holdynge the weye,  
Unto the fower vertues cardynall,  
To light mannys lyef, a lanterne specyall.

<sup>1</sup> Forrest was probably a relative of John Forest, the Franciscan friar. He was educated at Christ Church, Oxford, and was present in 1530 when the question of the king's divorce was discussed at Oxford. He may have attended the funeral of Catherine of Aragon at Peterborough 1536. An eye-witness of the erection of Wolsey's College on the site of the priory of St. Frideswide, he was afterwards employed there in some capacity or other. In 1548 he dedicated his version of the treatise 'De Regimine Principum' to the Duke of Somerset and in 1551 his paraphrase of some of the psalms. These dedications provoke Warton's comment, that Forrest 'could accommodate his faith to the reigning powers.'

In 1553 he came forward with a poetical tribute on the accession of Mary, and later was made one of the Queen's chaplains. He was probably, in 1556, presented to the vicarage of Bledlow, Buckinghamshire, but the presentation is uncertain.

In 1558 Forrest presented to Mary his poem of the *Second Gresyld*. Very little is known of his life after the death of Mary. He may have been protected by Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk, to whom he dedicated his *History of Joseph*. He seems to have remained in the same faith to the last, for his name and the two dates—27th October, 1572 and 1581—are affixed to a volume containing amongst other poems one in honour of the Virgin Mary and the Immaculate Conception. D.N.B.

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And to your noble Graundsyr Thomas,  
Duke, as yee are, of lyke tytle and style,  
He dyd yt commende, withe ornat peface,  
Yn sorte the beste hee coulde caste or compyle,  
Withe other warkes mo, to pastyme somewhyle,  
Whiche noble Booke, as mentyon doethe leave,  
Moste noblye, (withe thanks) he can them receave.

Takyng egressyon in his noble name,  
Receaved they weare in acceptation  
For their worthynes and noble fame  
In profytinge oure Englysche nation,  
Sought and upp bought, in busye fashyon;  
But now, not so, no inquiryaunce for suche,  
For idle playes are occupied to muche.

I consyderynge the veary truthe so,  
And have longe traveyled in lyke busynes,  
Althoughe my style doethe farre aloof go  
From Barkeleys, as the thyng selfe doethe expresse,  
(Yeat not all voyde, to vertues encrease)  
Was fully mynded in coarners myne to hyed,  
As goode as abroade and not occupied;

Callynge unto mynde yeat better advysement,  
Your noble father, Earle of Surreye,  
Howe (in hys tyme) to bookes he was bent,  
And also endytyng manye a vyrylaye  
In acceptatyon moste highe at this daye,  
Yowe, as of Bloode-condytion so by kynde,  
In hoape thearof cleane altered my mynde.'

This passage,<sup>1</sup> in addition to betraying a fervent admiration of Barclay, gives the useful information that

<sup>1</sup> '*History of Joseph the Chaiste* composed in balladde royall crudely; largely derived from the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. In two parts.' Dated as having been finished 11th April, 1569, but said by the author to have been written originally twenty-four years before. Appended to the Roxburghe Club edition of Forrest's *History of the Second Grisild*, p. 165.

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the sale of his books had fallen off considerably by 1569.

*The Life of the Blessed Virgin*<sup>1</sup> contains an interesting and amusing story:

‘One, on a daye, in companye  
Chaunced to saye thus sodaynlye,  
“I yeaster daye was in daungere  
Of necke breakinge in a mannere;  
My mare shee stumbled adowne right  
That I fell to the grounde then quight,  
But, thankes too God and oure Ladye,  
I caught (at all) noe harme therebye.”  
“Whye,” sayde there on then of the Garde,  
“The matter dyd yt goe so harde,  
That God’s helpe there might not assiste  
Although oure Ladyes had ben miste?  
Ye derogate much God’s glorye,  
For which yee maye bee right sorye.  
In ignorance yee bredd all waye,  
Therefore yee wotte not what yee saye;  
Some punyshment God sende ere longe,  
That yee may knowe what right, what wronge.”  
An other dyd replye forth waye,  
Called Alexander Barkeleye,  
Then sittinge there other amonge,  
And to the Cowrte dyd eke beelonge,  
Who was much fyne and eloquente,  
And could translate and eke convente.  
In Poetrye, other Scripture,  
Emonge us yeat are well in ure  
His workes sundrye which I have redde,  
And yeat doth live though hee bee dedde,  
Which certaynly so well are pende

<sup>1</sup> P. 185 of Roxburghe Club edition of the *History of Grisild. The Life of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, being a poem in praise of her and in honour of the Immaculate Conception, followed by miscellaneous moral and religious verses, dated from 1572-1581. D.N.B.

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That none this deye can them amende.  
Which Alexander Barkleye than  
The matter take in hande hee can,  
And sayd, "No harme was in so sayinge,  
By good reason thus approovinge;—  
I doe remember three yeares past  
Yee dwelt at Croydon, sure and faste,  
With such a man, I knewe you well,  
Wherefore I can the better tell.  
A longe lubber yee were in deede,  
Much slovenly yee ware youre weede,  
With coate of lethere, paltocke wyse,  
Your hose lyke so in sloven wisse  
Pachte upe unto the myddle legge,  
Your shoos beedobbed with nayle and pegge,  
And ofte to London yee carryed coales,  
Your hatte beefrett with sundrye hoales.  
Who shoulde have sought fyve myles aboughte  
Could not have founde a verier loute.  
But for yee were bygge, longe, and talle,  
Thanks bee to God now, first of all,  
And to Kinge Henrye specialle,  
As the truthe by you doth now trye,  
Who of his grace hath you preferde  
To bee a Yoman of his Garde,  
And doo become youre wearinge well;  
But playnely, further forth to tell,  
If Kinge Henry, though poure farre odde,  
Had not putt to his helpe with God,  
It might bee sayde and allso sworne  
Yee hadde continued as beforne.  
Therefore in namine oure Ladye  
No harme, then namine Kinge Henrye.  
God without theyre assistance can  
Doo what Him lyst, who liste to scan,  
Yeat, by Saint Pawles authoritye,  
Godes helpers in some thinges wee bee.



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The plowe man but hee styrre and sowe  
No corne or grayne is like to mowe,  
Yeat dare I saye in everye prease,  
God onlye geveth the encrease."  
The Yoman of the Garde dyd yealde,  
As on overcome in the feelde.  
Barkeleye was boulde to saye his mynde,  
For hee in Courte had manye freynde;  
The matter then turned to jeste,  
They eate and dranke; all was in reste.'

This anecdote savours of the truth, for the defence of the appeal to the Virgin and the discomfiture of the bold yeoman are very typical of Barclay and illustrate his conservative attitude to the new religion.

The reference to Croydon is interesting in view of the many mentions of the place name in the Eclogues; and still more important is the allusion to Barclay's friends at Court.

It seems very probable that Barclay was keenly interested in music and was connected with well-known musicians of the day. As *Capellanus* at St. Mary Ottery one of his duties had been to supervise the choirboys and the 'secondaries,' a duty which involved a knowledge of church music. Forrest, who, although a younger man, was obviously intimate with Barclay, was well skilled in music and made a collection which still exists,<sup>1</sup> of church music of the day.

In the second Eclogue are several lines which explain who the poet's friends at Court were, and which serve to connect him closely with the foremost musical genius of the period:

'The birde of Cornewall, the Crane and the Kite,  
And mo other like to heare is great delite,

<sup>1</sup> 'These MSS. came into the hands of Dr. Heather, founder of the musical praxis and professorship at Oxford, and are preserved in archives belonging to that institution.' D.N.B.

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Warbling their tunes at pleasour and at will,  
Though some be busy that therein have no skill.'

The allusion is indubitably to William Cornish, appointed Master of the Chapel Royal, 1509, to William Crane, who succeeded him as Master in 1523, and to John Kyte, chaplain and sub-dean of the Chapel.

Cornish,<sup>1</sup> whose musical and inventive genius displayed itself to the full in the organization of pageants for the entertainment of the Court, was on intimate terms with Henry VIII and was the recipient of personal favours from the King even to his death. He was a friend of Skelton's and set some of his songs to music, including 'Manerly Margery Mylk and Ale,' 'Wofully Araid,' and probably 'Hoyda joly Rutterkyn.' On his resignation of the Mastership, Easter, 1523, he was succeeded by William Crane,<sup>2</sup> formerly a gentleman of the Chapel, and a merchant of wealth and large business activities. Like Cornish, he was a personal friend of the King, who bestowed many favours on him. Crane died in 1545 after a Mastership of twenty-two years.

Kyte, the sub-dean,<sup>3</sup> was appointed Archbishop of Armagh in 1513, and later made Bishop of Carlisle, and may have been acquainted with Barclay in an ecclesiastic as well as a musical capacity.

It would not perhaps be too bold to conjecture that, through the powerful influence of these men, Crane and Kyte, Barclay escaped unhurt through the perils of the Reformation.

That Barclay had travelled extensively in England before the compilation of the Eclogues is not extremely probable, yet, in his pastoral poems he mentions a number of place-names with prosaic exactitude and a certain air of familiarity. Cambridge, Ely, Bristol,

<sup>1</sup> *Evolution of the English Drama up to Shakespeare.* C. W. Wallace.

<sup>2</sup> *Evolution of the English Drama up to Shakespeare.* C. W. Wallace.

<sup>3</sup> *Evolution of the English Drama up to Shakespeare.* C. W. Wallace.

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Croydon, Mortlake, Salisbury, London, and several other towns are named, and from the following passage it might be concluded that Barclay had an intimate knowledge of the English countryside, were it not dangerous to rely for biographical detail on the precarious medium of a pastoral poem:

‘As if divers wayes laye unto Islington,  
To Stow on the Wold, Quaveneth or Trompington,  
To Dover, Durham, to Barwike or Exeter,  
To Grantham, Totnes, Bristow or good Manchester  
To Roan, Paris, to Lions or Floraunce.

By God man knowe thou that I have had to do  
In all these townes and yet in many mo.’

In spite of his wanderings, real or imaginary, Barclay was at Ely when he translated from the *De Quatuor Virtutibus* of Dominic Mancini (1516) his *Mirroure of Good Maners*, published by Pynson at uncertain date and by Cawood in 1570. The title page gives the information:

‘Here begynneth a ryght frutefull treatyse / intituled the myrrour of good maners / cōteynyng the iiii vertues / called cardynall / compyled in latyn by Domynike Mancyn: And translate into englysshe: at the desyre of syr Gyles Alyngton knyght: by Alexander Bercley prest: and *monke of Ely*.’

The colophon reveals further that Pynson printed the book ‘at the instance and request / of the ryght noble Rychard yerle of Kent.’

Translating the Preface of *Mancine* the poet addresses his ‘singular good Master, syr Giles Alyngton Knight’ as follows:

‘Right honorable Master ye me required late,  
A Lovers confession abridging to amende,  
And from corrupte Englishe in better to translate,

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To your request would I right gladly condiscende,  
Were not that some readers my worke would reprehend,

As to my age and order mucche inconvenient,  
To write of thing wanton, not sad but insolent.’<sup>1</sup>

What a loss to English literature, the *Confessio Amantis*, abridged and polished by Barclay! A literary curiosity relegated by a moral scruple for ever to the Limbo of undeveloped ideas! Barclay was not forgetful of the promise made in the concluding stanzas:

‘Reade this litle treatise, O juvent of Englande,  
As mirrour of good maners, ye chiefly of London,  
And when ye, it reading, shall profite understande,  
Geve ye laude and thankes to Giles Alyngton  
Knight, at whose precept this treatise was begon:  
If this do you profite, that shall my mynde excite  
Of mo fruitfull matters after this to write.’<sup>2</sup>

The ‘mo fruitfull matters’ were not slow in appearing. Between 1519 and 1524 Pynson published Barclay’s translation of Sallust’s *Jugurthine War*, dedicated in English to Thomas, duke of Norfolk and in Latin to John Voysey or Veysey, bishop of Exeter, 1519-1551. The title page runs:

‘Here begynneth the famous cronycle of the warre / which the romayns had agaynst Jugurth usurper of the kyngdome of Numidy: whiche cronycle is compyled in latyn by the renowmed romayn Salust. And translated into englysshe by Syr Alexander Barclay preest / at cōmaundement of the right hye and mighty prince: Thomas duke of Northfolke.’

In his English dedication Barclay mentions the interesting fact that at ‘this tyme’ the ‘understandyng of

<sup>1</sup> Pynson’s edition sign. A iii. Cawood’s edition sign. A ii.

<sup>2</sup> Pynson’s edition sign. h. 7. Cawood’s edition sign. g. 6.

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latyn' was 'almost contemned of gentylnen.' The Latin dedication is dated from King's Hatfield in Essex.'

<sup>1</sup> Led by Warton, *History of English Poetry*, Vol. II, p. 247, all Barclay's biographers have gone astray at this point. The actual subscription is: 'Ex cellula Hatfelden regij iij Idus Novembris.' It has always been assumed that the allusion is to Hatfield in Hertfordshire. Jamieson gives Clutterbuck as his authority, and in the *History and Antiquities of the County of Hertford*, Vol. II, p. 334, is a description of Bishop's Hatfield. 'The manor of Hatfield was an antient demesne, and continued in the possession of the Saxon Monarchs until it was conferred, by King Edgar, upon the Monastery of St. Ethelred of Ely, in Cambridgeshire, to which it was confirmed by the name of Hethfeld, under a charter of King Edward the Confessor. . . . The Abbots of the Monastery of Ely continued to hold this Manor until that religious foundation was converted into a Bishoprick by King Henry the First, A.D. 1108, when it became part of the possessions of that See. The Manor of Hatfield continued in the possession of the Church of Ely until Thomas Goodrick, Bishop of Ely, by indenture dated 24th November in the 30th year of the reign of King Henry VIII, conveyed to that King, his heirs and successors for ever, the Lordship and Manor of Hatfield.'

Later (p. 336) Clutterbuck adds in a note that 'The antient palace of the Bishops of Ely was rebuilt and beautified by John Morton, who was promoted to that see A.D. 1478 and died 1486.'

It is this connection with Ely that has misled Warton and the other biographers, though Clutterbuck states on p. 334: 'It is probable that this place might have been called by its present name of Bishop's Hatfield, from the period at which the Abbey of Ely was erected into a Bishoprick, A.D. 1108, to distinguish it from *Hatfield Regis, or Hatfield Broadoak in Essex.*' This latter is clearly the place indicated by Barclay's subscription. It seems to have been so-called because it formed part of the demesne lands of the Conqueror. Dugdale notes in his *Monasticon Anglicanum* (Vol. IV, p. 432) that Alberic de Vere, c. 1135, founded a priory for Black Monks at Hatfield Regis. The Priory had possessions in the See of Ely and the connection, slight as it is, tends to confirm the suggestion that Barclay wrote his dedicatory letter to Bishop Veysey from the house of the Essex Benedictines.

The Priors of the establishment from 1489-1534 were:

John Bedwell 1489-1502;  
Richard Haver, 1502-1518;  
John Asshley, 1518-1528;  
Edmund Sudbury; and

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The translation of Sallust bears excellent testimony to Barclay's Latin scholarship; and in 1521 his knowledge of modern languages became manifest when Robert Copland issued from his press at the sign of the Rose Garland, in Fleet Street, the 'Introductory to wryte and to pronounce Frenche,' 'compyled by Alexander Barclay compendiously at the commaundement of the ryght hye excellent and myghty prynce Thomas duke of Northfolke.' It was this book that provoked the grammarian Palsgrave to indignant comment in his 'L' Esclaircissement de la langue Française,' 1530.<sup>1</sup> The first allusion to Barclay is almost flattering:

'The right vertuous and excellent prince Thomas late Duke of Northfolke, hath commanded the studious clerke Alexander Barkelay to embusy himself about this exercise.'

But later he warns his readers to beware of Barclay's mistakes and adds:

'I have seen an old book written in parchment in manner in all things like to his said Introductory which by conjecture was not written this 100 years. I wot not if he happened to fortune upon such another. ....'

This is a pretty direct accusation of plagiarism, and it is quite likely that, as Morley remarks,<sup>2</sup> Barclay may have founded his book on a manuscript he had unearthed in the library at Ely.

It was at Ely also that the Lives of the Saints, attributed to the poet by Bale, were written—the lives of

Richard Sondon or Stondon, last prior, who surrendered the house in 1534.

Barclay may have known all these men, but it was most probably during Asshley's term of office that he visited the priory.

<sup>1</sup> Philological Society's Papers. A. J. Ellis. 'On Early English Pronunciation.' Part III.

<sup>2</sup> *English Writers*. Vol. VII, p. 112.

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St. Catherine, of St. Margaret, of St. Etheldreda, the foundress of Ely, and of St. George, which was taken from Mantuan and dedicated to Nicholas West, bishop of Ely. Probably the tract 'Alexander Barkley his figure of our mother holy Church oppressed by the French king' recorded by Andrew Maunsell in his Catalogue, 1595, belongs to this period of literary productivity. The Life of St. Thomas, if it be not apocryphal, may owe its existence to the connection of Barclay with the Franciscans at Canterbury, some time later; while the 'Orationes Varias' and the 'De Fide Orthodoxa,' mentioned as the poet's by Warton,<sup>1</sup> may have been the result of leisure hours at the Benedictine monastery.

While he was quietly working in the precincts of his beloved cathedral Barclay's fame was spreading abroad. On the 10th April, 1520, in the midst of the preparations for the Field of Cloth of Gold, Sir Nicholas Vaux<sup>2</sup> wrote to Wolsey begging that the prelate would send to him 'Mr. Maynn who dwelleth with the bishop of Excester, and Maistre Barkleye, the black monke and poete, to devise histories and convenient raisons to florisse the buildings and banquet house withal.' Whether Barclay went to Guisnes at the injunction of Wolsey is not known, but the assumption of a temporary sojourn in France and an enforced absence from his monastery would help to explain the fact that, at about this time, though the exact date is unknown, he left the Benedictine order for that of the Franciscans, with whose habit, Bulleyn, writing in 1564, associates him.

Barclay's literary output seems to have ceased on his incorporation into the severer Minorite order, and his

<sup>1</sup> Warton took his information from Tanner, *Bibliotheca-Britannico-Hibernica*, who mentions, without stating his authority, *Orationes varias*; lib. 1: *De Fide Orthodoxa*, lib. 1 in a list of Barclay's works.

<sup>2</sup> *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII.* Vol. III. No. 737. The manuscript—Calig. D.VII. 202 (B.M.).

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life to have become more adventurous. He appears to have been infected with the Lutheran heresy, to have escaped abroad and to have taken refuge in Germany, like Roye, Barlow and Tyndale. For in a letter written by the informer Hermann Rinck<sup>1</sup> to Wolsey and dated from Cologne, 4th October, 1528, Barclay is mentioned as an apostate friar. Rinck says:

‘ . . . . . In my opinion . . . throughout the whole Roman Empire, especially in Germany, no rebels or traitors to the King of England shall be kept or suffered, much less heretics who excite sedition among the Christians of the whole kingdom of England. . . . . Edmund de la Pole, who called himself the duke of Suffolk, was demanded by King Philip, to be sent to England, as was fitting. Then William Roy, William Tyndale, Jerome Barlow, *Alexander Barckley*, and their adherents, formerly Observants of the order of St. Francis, but now Apostates, George Constans also, and many other rebels of the King’s grace, ought to be arrested, punished and delivered up on account of Lutheran heresy, which ought to be blotted out and rooted up, to confirm the Christian faith, of which there is much need in the kingdom of England.’

Some trouble with Wolsey seems to have occurred about the same date, for Friar John West, an informer

<sup>1</sup> *Letters and Papers*. Vol. IV. No. 4810. The manuscript—vit. B.xxi. 43. (B.M.) The original letter was written in Latin and the quoted passage reads: ‘Omnia propter eiusdem privilegii vigore et lege Edmundus de la poel qui se dominum Suffolk nominabat per Regem Philippum desiderabatur, ut decuit erat in Angliam adduci. Deinde et Wilhelmus Roy, Wilhelmus Tyntaell, Hieronemus Barlo, Alexander Barckley et eorum adherentes etc. olim observantes, ordinis dm francisci, nunc vero apostates, necnon et Georgius Constans et alii complures, R g obstrepantes, capi, plecti, et offerri debebant, ob heresian lutheranā tum delendam eradicandam et ad fidem christianam confirmandam ut plurimum nunc opus est in Anglie regno.’



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in the Cardinal's pay, wrote to him on the 13th April, 1529,<sup>1</sup> asking that he might speak with him secretly, before he saw 'brother Alysander Barkley,' who had called Wolsey a tyrant and other 'opprobrious and blasphemous words.' However, despite his perilous incursion into the realms of theological controversy, and his tactless, if vigorous, criticism of Wolsey, Barclay appears to have returned to England and to have made his peace with the Church.

In view of later events it seems that Barclay's reaction from his temporary lapse into heresy must have been complete. He was an observant Franciscan, and, as such, would be resident at one of the six Observant friaries when these houses were suppressed in 1534. There is no record of his having proved obdurate, like his brothers of Greenwich, so he was in all probability handed over to a house of Conventual Franciscans. Harsh treatment was meted out to some Observants who were delivered into the keeping of the older branch of their order, for they seem to have been locked up and kept in chains. Perhaps Barclay managed to escape this severity. In 1536 the Conventual Houses were suppressed. Immediate surrender to the king meant retirement on pensions. But these money payments were by no means extended to all the ejected monks and friars, for of all the religious in England only about half appear to have received gratuities. The Friars fared badly. Only one or two individuals were granted any pension for their support, and Barclay does not seem to have been among them, for his name does not occur in the Augmentation Office records of Leases and Pensions. No doubt Barclay shared the privations which were the lot of so many of the ejected religious. Employment was by no means easy to find even when a 'capacity' or permission to act as one of the secular clergy had been obtained. The plight of the friars moved even Ingworth

<sup>1</sup> *Letters and Papers*. Vol. IV. Part III. No. 5463.

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to pity, for he wrote to Cromwell<sup>1</sup>:

'I beg your lordship to be a good lord for the poor friars' capacities. They are very poor and can have little service without their capacities. The bishop and curates are very hard to them, without they have their capacities';

and again:

'They cannot be suffered to sing nor say in any parish church without they show the letters of their orders, my letters or their capacities notwithstanding. And, the charge for these letters of their orders be so great that the poor men be not able to bear it. Some must go a hundred miles to seek them. And when they come there the charge of searching the register is so great that they are not able to pay it, and so they come home again confounded.'

While in the Midlands<sup>2</sup> Ingworth

'strongly urged Cromwell as Vicar General to send down dispensations to allow friars to put off their habits and mix with the world as secular priests or laymen.'

The result was that friars had to discard their habits. Barclay must have regarded the dispensation with disapproval, for Foxe,<sup>3</sup> the Martyrologist, records:

'Hereunto also pertaineth the example of Friar Bartley, who, wearing still his friar's cowl after the suppression of the religious houses, Cromwell, coming through St. Paul's Churchyard and espying him in Rheines's shop, "Yea," said he, "Will not that cowl of yours be left off yet? And if I hear by one o'clock, that this apparel be not changed, thou shalt be hanged immediately, for

<sup>1</sup> Gasquet. *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries*. Vol. II, p. 275.

<sup>2</sup> *Letters and Papers*. Vol. VII. Introduction.

<sup>3</sup> *Acts and Monuments*. Townsend's edition. Vol. V, p. 396.

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example to all others." And so, putting his cowl away, he durst never wear it after.'

Gairdner<sup>1</sup> dates this incident August or September, 1538. The Windsor Herald, Charles Wriothesley,<sup>2</sup> gives a corroborative account in his Chronicle,<sup>3</sup> for discussing the events of the year 1538, he says:

'Also this yere in June the Kinge gave a commaundement that noe religious persons of the suppressed houses or such other as used to live of the charitie of the people out of theyr religious houses should goe abroad in their religious habits, whereupon divers religious persons took secular priestes habittes, chaunginge theyr religious coates, as Doctor Barkley of the order of the Grey Fryers which was very loath to leave his ipochrytes coate till he was compelled for fear of punishment.'

Earlier in the year it seems that Barclay had been in Suffolk and had neglected to proclaim the King's supremacy. On 9th October, 1538, Robert Ward,<sup>4</sup> a friar and informer, wrote to Cromwell

'in consequence of his commandments to curates and pastors for publishing the Word of God and inquiring for those who favour usurped power or traditions of the Church of Rome.'

He states that:

'In Barking parish, Suffolk, where Mr. Richard Redman is parson, the Word of God is not preached

<sup>1</sup> Gairdner. *Lollardy and the Reformation*. Vol. II, pp. 162-164.

<sup>2</sup> Charles Wriothesley (1508?-1562), fourth son of Sir Thomas Wriothesley (d. 1534) and first cousin to Thomas Wriothesley, first earl of Southampton. Created Windsor Herald, Christmas Day, 1534. The Chronicle was anonymous, but internal evidence points conclusively to Wriothesley's authorship. D.N.B.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. I, p. 52.

<sup>4</sup> *Letters and Papers*. Vol. XIII. Part II. No. 571.

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unless a stranger comes by chance, and those who have come have not set forth the King's title nor defaced the usurped power of the bishop of Rome; no, not Alexander Barkley who preached in Wytson holidays.'

After the sermon Ward

'spoke to him of his negligence before the parson and Mr. Walter Watland, one of the justices.'

The temerity with which Barclay clung to his religious beliefs at this dangerous period is really admirable. Some months later he must have made his way down into Cornwall, for a country gentleman, one William Dynham, wrote on the 12th October to Cromwell from Lyfton,<sup>1</sup> an amusing account of a conversation he had had with 'Alexander Barckley.' Dynham writes:

'Of late I came to the priory of St. Gernayne in Cornwall, and sat at supper with the prior, accompanied by Alexander Barckley, who the day before preached in honour of the Blessed Virgin, but not so much to the edifying of his audience as his demeanour next day was, I heard, to their destruction. At supper I moved such questions as I thought might do good to the audience. He served my purpose, till, "after a sodeyne dompe he brake silence, as a man that had spoken too well (and yet a frere in a somewhat honester weed)" and glorified himself. He first protested he would speak no new things. not set out by the King and his Council. I answered wondering what he meant when all men of literature and judgment "knew that our so Christian a prince and his Council set forth no new thing but the gospell of Christ and the sincere verity thereof."

<sup>1</sup> *Letters and Papers*. Vol. XIII. Part II. No. 596. The manuscript—Ellis, 3 Ser. iii, 112 (R.O.)—I have quoted from the abridged and modernized version of the *Letters and Papers*.

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Barckley replied, "I would to God that at least the laws of God might have as much authority as the laws of the realm." I asked him what he meant and Barckley said, "Nothing," but he thought men were too busy pulling down images without special commandment of the prince. I answered I knew none pulled down except such as idolatry was committed unto, and reminded him "of St. Margarets Patentis rode . . . ." Here he demanded what followed thereof? I requiring him to answer his demand, he said I knew how many tenements and some people were burnt soon upon. "What Barckley?" said I, "here is somewhat moved; ye have a versatile ingeyne, but were ye so sleper as an eel, here will I hold you. Would you infect this audience with that opinion, that God for such cause plagued them? Your cankered heart is disclosed. My true little stomach with reverence of the prior and his board must be opened lest it break. You are, Barckley, a false knave and a dissembling frere. You get no pence might I rule here. You seek your own profit vocall to hinder the truth, more than unity to set forth the true and princely endeavour of our most Crysten and of his church Supremest Head most laudable enterprises; whereof I trust thou shalt hear." "

Apparently Barclay was not perturbed by Dynham's protests, which may not have been so virulent as he represents them in writing, for his opinions remained unchanged, and he preached against the new order of things. These sermons of his, and his staunch adherence to the old faith brought him into prominence, and on 28th October in the same year (1538) Latimer wrote Cromwell from Haylles<sup>1</sup> that

<sup>1</sup> *Letters and Papers*. Vol. XIII. Part II. No. 709. The manuscript—Ellis, iii, 249 (R.O.).

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‘Frere Bartlow does much hurt in Cornwall and in Daynshire both with open preaching and private communication.’

There is no record of Barclay’s having suffered persecution for his unwillingness to recognize Henry VIII as head of the Church. Warton<sup>1</sup> observes that he must eventually have temporized with the changes in religion, for in 1546, being at this time Doctor of Divinity, according to Wood,<sup>2</sup> he had two livings presented to him. On February 7th he was appointed vicar of Much Badew or Great Baddow in Essex,<sup>3</sup> and on March 30th he became, on the death of Mr. Richard Eryngton, vicar of the church of St. Matthew the Apostle, at Wokey in Somerset.<sup>4</sup>

Discussing the history of the parish church of Great Baddow, Morant, in his *History of Essex*,<sup>5</sup> says that Pascall did not obtain possession of the Rectory, Church and Advowson of the Vicarage until December 19th, 1547. In this case there would seem to be some doubt about the date of Barclay’s Essex appointment. However, he does not seem to have taken up his residence at Great Baddow until January of the year 1549. A study of the town Depositions preserved in the Record Office<sup>6</sup> has brought to light several interesting facts concerning Barclay’s life in Essex. It appears that in the Hilary Term ‘Anno Primo Marie’ (Jan. 23rd - Feb. 12th, 1553-4), John Paschall (sic) sued Thomas Eden and

<sup>1</sup> *History of English Poetry*.

<sup>2</sup> *Athenæ Oxonienses*.

<sup>3</sup> Newcourt’s *Repertorium II*, 25. ‘Baddow Magna, Vicarage (Holy Virgin) Alexander Barkley S.T.P. 7th February 1546 per mort.

John Clowes

presented by John Pascall, gent.’

<sup>4</sup> Wood. *Athenæ*. Vol. I, p. 207. Register Wellens.

<sup>5</sup> Vol. II, p. 20.

<sup>6</sup> Court of Chancery. Town Depositions. C/24/32. I give the matter in detail as it has not been noticed before.

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Thomas Atkynson, Barclay's executors, for the restitution of a sum of money he alleged was owing to him. Unfortunately only the complainant's story has been preserved. What the defendants had to say for themselves we do not know, but enough remains for us to be able to reconstruct a lively picture of the events which led to the case.

Barclay apparently had arrived at Great Baddow to find the vicarage uninhabitable, had betaken himself with his servant 'John A More' to John Paschall's house, and had lived there entertaining his friends and parishioners right royally at his host's expense. Clearly a case of the biter bit! Poor Paschall—he must have found Barclay a difficult incumbent! This emerges from the evidence of the first witness, one John Christofreson, Gent., of Odell, Beds., who is described as 'of the age of xli yeres and upwarde.' His deposition is slightly confused—perhaps he was nervous. He began by saying that he was familiarly acquainted with Alexander Barclay who, 'aboute three yeres past or more,' perceiving that he was familiar also with John Paschall, declared to him sundry matters 'in question' between them, asserting 'that the said John Paschall had not fryndelly usyd hym as his expectacion was he wold have done.' Moreover, Barclay said that he had delivered to Paschall £15 'and upwards' for the building of a house 'at the vicaradge' of Baddow and that there were 'other mattres of reconyng.' Barclay had 'movyd' Paschall 'that they might recone together,' and Paschall had shown himself 'conformable so to do,' yet notwithstanding 'he came not forward therwith.' Christofreson was therefore urged to use his influence with Paschall, to whom he spoke and 'movyd hym to come to a reconyng.' Paschall promised to do so, and prayed the deponent to show Barclay that it was the thing he most desired 'and had oft on his parte before that requyred the said Mr. Barqueley therunto and prayed to have

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hyme to peruse his boke of the reconyng to be had bytwene them.' Later, Christofreson being appointed 'arbitror indifferent,' a day was fixed for the hearing of the reckoning. Barclay was at this time staying with Atkynson and failed to keep the appointment, nor does he seem to have been anxious to meet Paschall, for, if we are to trust the evidence, he made no further effort to do so, although he was heard to say 'that he did not mystrust but the said Paschall wold fryndely ynoughe come to a reconyng.' Furthermore Barclay told the witness that he had bargained with the carpenter 'and as he remembreth with the said John Paschall for to sett hym uppe a house at Badowe aforesaid, and as he said the Carpynter was a loytrynge knave and had not kept towche for if he had he said he had layne there still and by meane therof was muche disquyetyd for lacke of his house that it was not hansome for hym, wherefore he said he was fayne to lye at Mr. Paschalls house in Badowe when he came thither.' At the same time he told the deponent 'he had a great losse by a priest of Chelmysford to whome he had of trust delyveryd a great sum of gold . . . . .<sup>1</sup> to be kept to his use.' This priest 'was ronне awaye with all, wherby he was then muche disquyeteyd in mynde.' So the deposition ends,<sup>2</sup> revealing the poet who, like Sancho, had an inexhaustible store of proverbial wisdom at his fingers' ends, the dupe of a 'loyteryng,' knavish carpenter and of a rascally priest—in fact, the victim of a Tudor confidence trick.

The next witness, Robert Rutland, of Duxforth, 'of the age of xxxii' is not designated as 'Gent.,' so that in all probability he and his wife were in service with the Paschalls. His deposition begins with the statement that 'Alexander Barquelay clerke decessyd, did soierne and had meete drynke fyrewood lodgynges wasshyng

<sup>1</sup> Some words obscured.

<sup>2</sup> Signed 'per me Joannem Christoforson' in a pretty italic.



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candell and other necessaryes at commandement for hym and John A More his servaunt at the only costes and chardges of the said John Paschall in Moche Badowe weekly' from the 8th day of January in the second year of the reign of Edward VI to the Thursday before Passion Sunday.<sup>1</sup> Rutland knew this because he and his wife were at that time living in Paschall's house, and his wife 'pervayed all the said necessaryes duringe the said tyme for the said Alexander Barqueley and his said servaunt.'

Moreover, Barclay was accustomed to entertain divers parishioners and 'fryends' to 'dinner and supper at the costes and chardges of the said John.' Barclay is alleged to have said on leaving the house that 'he did put the said John to great chardges concernynge the premyssees for the which . . . he wold agree with hym and see hym satysfied.' According to the witness 'the said Alexander ought to have paid and allowed unto the said John wekely for the premisses during the tyme aforesaid 10/-.' Apparently Barclay told Rutland that he had delivered to Paschall a certain sum of money towards the building of a new house 'to be sett upon the vicaradge of Moche Badowe.' Rutland did not know what the sum was, nor whether Barclay had a receipt for it. He knew, though, that Paschall 'by the only meanes and request of the said Alexander did buye of William Seymer of Estehanfylde<sup>2</sup> eyght carte lodes of pales postes and rayles bestowed upon the fensynge and enclosyng of the vicaradge aforesaid and also xxx lodes of Tymber or thereaboutes towards the buyldyng of the said house.' The incident of the carpenter is mentioned. In the presence of the witness 'the said Alexander Barqueley did attempt to bargayne with the Carpynter that should

<sup>1</sup> Barclay must have lived with Paschall for almost three months. Easter Day of the year 1548-9 fell on the 21st April, therefore Passion Sunday (4th Sunday in Lent) was observed on 7th April.

<sup>2</sup> East Haningfield, 'vulgarly called Hanville.'

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have sett uppe the said house and for that he could not agree with hym therefore . . . . . he causyd the said John Paschall to bargayne with the same Carpynter therin.' This statement ends the evidence. Paschall, it seems, got rid of the Parsonage house, which must have been a thorn in his side, as soon as he could, for by license dated 12th October, 1554, he sold it to a certain John Sammes and Joan his wife for life.

To return, Wadding' records that Barclay was appointed suffragan bishop of Bath and Wells:

'factus est cappellanus Thomæ Cornitii Taven. Episcopi, et postea diœcesis Batthoniensis suffraganeus.'

This must be a mistake, for no other record of such a preferment exists. Probably Wadding, thinking of Cornish, applied the phrase to Barclay; or perhaps he confused him with his namesake Gilbert Berkeley, who was appointed bishop of Bath and Wells, 1559-1560. On 30th April, 1522, Barclay was appointed Rector of All Hallows,<sup>2</sup> Lombard Street, by the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury. He was succeeded by Peter Alexander on the 24th August, and seems to have died in June, for on the 10th of the month he was buried at Croydon. He appears to have spent the last years of his life 'in pious matters and in reading the histories of the saints,'<sup>3</sup> and must have made a worthy end. Of all his biographers Bale alone disparages him, but this disparagement doubtless proceeds from the intense hatred which

<sup>1</sup> *Scriptores Ordinis Minorum*. Rome, 1806. P. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Hennessey. *Novum Repertorium*, p. 78.

Newcourt's *Repertorium*, I, 254 'All Hallows, Lombard Street, Rectory. Alexander Barkeley S.T.P. 30th April 1552 per resig. Will. Jennings. Patroni dec. et Cap. Eccles. præd.'

'24th Aug. Pet. Alexander S.T.P.' succeeded Barclay.

<sup>3</sup> Wood. *Athenæ*. Cf. Pit, *Relationum Historicarum de Rebus Anglicis*, p. 745. 'Omne suum studium in rebus pijs, et historijs sanctorum legendis atque scribendis posuit.'

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the bishop of Ossory felt for all who were averse from his extreme, fanatical Protestantism. He certainly had no love for Barclay—not only does he say of him: <sup>1</sup>

‘in omnibus veritatis osor et sub cœlibatus fuco  
fœdus adulter perpetuo mansit’;

but in his ‘Declaration of Edmonde Bonner’s Articles’ <sup>2</sup> he relates a story which exemplifies his statement. This anecdote relates that:

‘Doctoure Barkleye hadde greate harme ones of such a visitacioun at Wellys, before he was Quene Maryes Chaplayne. For the woman who he so religiouslye visited did light him of all that he had, saving his working tolas. For the whiche acte, he had her in prison and yet coulde nothing recover againe.’

Possibly here, too, there is some confusion with Gilbert Berkeley, bishop of Bath and Wells, for the allusion to ‘Quene Maryes Chaplayne’ cannot refer to the poet. Gilbert Berkeley, however, does not appear to have been a man of loose life, indeed, he is described <sup>3</sup> as

‘of great gravity and singular integrity of life’

and as an

‘excellent and constant preacher of God’s word.’

On the other hand, he does not seem to have been so diligent as the size of his diocese required, and it

‘inclined to superstition and the papal religion.’

It may have been this latter fact that aroused Bale’s fury and invective. But there is very little truth and a good

<sup>1</sup> *Scriptorum illustriū maioris Brytannie*. Basilæ, 1557-9, p. 723.

<sup>2</sup> ‘A declaration of Edmonde Bonner’s Articles concerning the clearynge of London diocese whereby that execrable Antichrist is in his right colours reveled in the yeare of our Lord 1554,’ published by ‘Jhon Tysdall,’ London, 1561.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. D.N.B. Strype I. 128.

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deal of spite in the words of an angry man, and it is best not to take Bale seriously.

Barclay's will, written on 25th July, 1551, and proved 10th June, 1552, reveals him as a benevolent man, thoughtful of his friends and of the poor of his parishes. He styles himself Doctor of Divinity and may have obtained this degree, as Wood suggests, in or about the year 1546. He makes several bequests, especially to the family of Thomas Atkynson of London, 'scryvener,' whose wife Parnell, Barclay calls his 'cosyn.' He chose the scrivener as one of his executors, and it is pleasant to think that, as the relations between them were friendly, Barclay may have stayed with Atkynson when he came to the capital in 1509 to see his *Ship of Fools* through the press.

The phenomenon of Barclay's career, the fact that his literary activity so soon ceased, is not without parallel even in comparatively modern times, for the young French poet, Arthur Rimbaud, tired of writing verse at the age of twenty. Barclay may have regarded his spiritual labours as of supreme importance in his life, and have valued his literary achievements less and less with the passing of years. When he was involved in theological dispute, he was obviously too busy and pre-occupied to devote any time to the laborious work of translation. And perhaps, when leisure was his, in the quiet of his old age, inspiration, the urge to write, had forsaken him.

## THE ECLOGUES

THE Idyllia of Theocritus brought to Alexandria, satiated with opulence and luxury, sweet and gracious memories of country scenes and country people.

The freshness and simplicity of his pictures of Sicilian rustic life provided at once a beautiful contrast to and a delightful escape from the sordid realities of an almost oriental city. At its inception pastoral poetry was not divorced from, but instinct with, a slightly idealized actuality.

In the hands of the Roman Virgil the Theocritan idyll lost its pristine freshness and simplicity of motive and became a vehicle for matters of more pith and moment. Artificiality insidiously attacked the pastoral form, conversations between shepherds ranged from didactic homilies to panegyrics of living persons, and the bucolic poem fell a victim to allegory. The fame of the poet, the nature of his poetry, the interest and value of which depended on matter as much as on manner, and the fact that during the Middle Ages Latin was the universal language, while Greek was almost lost, combined to make Virgil, rather than Theocritus, the model of all later pastoral verse. For before the Revival of Learning had made Greek accessible, Petrarch and Boccaccio had established the supremacy of the Virgilian tradition.

The Pastoral did not appeal to the Humanists as a means of escape from the world which is too much with us, but as a useful instrument of satire for which, in its Virgilian form, it afforded enormous facilities. Thus Petrarch, who seems to have been well aware of the allegorical nature of Virgil's work and the opportunities it afforded for covert references to contemporary events, 'adopted the pastoral form for definite purposes of

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utility.' His twelve Latin 'Eglogæ' composed in the middle of the fourteenth century, contain in their pastoral framework, the bitterest denunciations of ecclesiastical abuses. Satire and allegorical allusion persists in the sixteen Latin Eclogues of Boccaccio, who acknowledged Petrarch as his master in the kind, but it was in the works of Baptista Spagnolo, better known as Mantuanus, that the Renaissance, or rather Humanist, eclogue received its definite form.

Mantuan (1448-1516), a Carmelite monk, who finally (1513) became General of his order, wrote ten Eclogues which were first printed in 1498, and which were acclaimed by the sixteenth century as inferior to those of Virgil alone. He made his Eclogues the vehicle of virulent satire and infused into them a drastic and somewhat breezy realism. The first three Eclogæ treat of love and its excesses, the fourth is a violent diatribe against women, the fifth exposes the niggardly attitude of rich men towards poor poets, the sixth lashes the luxury and vice of cities, and the last four discuss various aspects of religion. The interlocutors are invariably rough herdsmen, one of whom

'commonly compensates by a more than pastoral simplicity for the other's more than pastoral enlightenment.'

These poems seem to have fascinated Barclay with the rest of his contemporaries, for he took them as his model and was the first to write the formal eclogue in the vernacular.<sup>2</sup> It is very difficult to assign a definite

<sup>1</sup> Suggested by the preponderance of goatherds in Theocritus. The Elizabethans followed Petrarch; thus E.K. writes: 'Æglogai . . . that is, Goteheards tales.' The correct spelling and derivation were ignored.

The Greek Eklogai meant literally 'selections,' the Latin Ecloga 'a choice passage,' 'a short poem.' Virgil applied the term to his *Bucolica*, and from this association it gained the sense of 'pastoral poem.'

<sup>2</sup> The step had already been taken in Italy, where 'vernacular compositions developed approximately parallel to, though usually in imitation of, those in the learned tongue.' W. W. Greg. *Pastoral Poetry*, p. 30.

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date to Barclay's pastoral adventure. Various editions of his work exist, but only one is dated, the last. He seems to have written five eclogues, three of which were an adaptation of the *Miseria Curialium* of Ænius Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II. These three were published, with a Prologue, by an anonymous printer, by John Herford, and by Humphrey Powell<sup>1</sup> at uncertain dates. The fourth, translated from Mantuan's fifth, and the fifth, a translation of Mantuan's sixth, were printed separately by Pynson and Wynkyn de Worde respectively. Later, in 1570, the five eclogues were appended by John Cawood<sup>2</sup> to his edition of the *Ship of Fools*. Pynson died in 1530, and as he was concerned in the printing of one of the eclogues it seems probable that the whole series was written before that date. Fortunately, the poems themselves offer some information about the date of their composition. But even here there are discrepancies. In the first Eclogue allusion is made to Henry VII in terms which suggest that he had only recently died:

'noble Henry which nowe departed late.'

A little later in the same poem occurs a covert reference to Empson and Dudley who were executed on a trumped-up charge of high treason in August, 1510:

'Such as for honour unto the court resort,  
Looke seldome times upon the lower sort:  
To the hyer sort for moste part they intende,  
For still their desire is hyer to ascende.  
And when none can make with them comparison,  
Against their princes conspire they by treason.

<sup>1</sup> Humphrey Powell's edition of the Eclogues, c. 1548, differs considerably in spelling and punctuation from Cawood's. Important differences will be indicated.

<sup>2</sup> The Spenser Society facsimile of Cawood's edition differs in some particulars from its original. It would seem that type facsimiles are less accurate than ordinary reprints.

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Then when their purpose can not come well to  
frame,  
Agayne they discende and that with utter shame.  
Coridon thou knowest right well what I meane,  
We lately of this experience have seene.'

Again, in the same poem, are passages on the deaths of Bishops Morton and Alcock which seem to have been written at the time of the events they commemorate.

Of Morton the poet says:

c. 1500:

'O Cornix, Cornix, fele howe my hart doth quake,  
On him when I thinke my heart is full of payne,  
Would God that we could get him to live agayne.  
What time he lived some did him blame iwis,  
Which since he died do him sore lacke and mis.'

Of Alcock:

'When I sawe his figure lye in the Chapell side,  
Like death for weping I might no longer bide.'

These prelates are mentioned again in the third Eclogue:

'And shepheard Morton when he durst not appeare,  
Howe his olde servauntes were carefull of his chere.'

and

'My harte sore mourneth when I must specify  
Of the gentle Cocke whiche sange so mirily.'

The fourth Eclogue contains a long allegorical poem entitled,

'The description of the Towre of vertue and honour,  
into the which the noble Hawarde contended to  
enter by worthy actes of chivalry,'

which resolves itself into an elegy on the death of Sir Edward Howard, Lord High Admiral and second son of the Earl of Surrey, who was drowned off Brest, 1513.



## *Introduction: The Eclogues*

Such a tribute could not have been written long after the event it laments, but must have been composed subsequent to the promotion of Surrey to the Dukedom of Norfolk, which he received for his services at Flodden soon after the battle, but which was not publicly conferred on him until the 1st February, 1514. In the course of his poem Barclay speaks of:

‘Moste noble Hawarde the duke and protectour,  
Named of Northfolke the floure of chivalry.’

Such an allusion would have been impossible before the 9th September, 1513 (Battle of Flodden Field).

It seems, then, that the Eclogues were a compilation, written at different stages of the poet's career. This is precisely the explanation he offers in his Prologue, and though this is translated fairly closely from Mantuan, there is no reason to doubt Barclay's statement that the poems represent a revision of youthful labours:

‘So where I in youth a certayne worke began,  
And not concluded, as oft doth many a man:  
Yet thought I after to make the same perfite,  
But long I missed that which I first did write.  
But here a wonder, I fortie yere save twayne  
Proceeded in age, founde my first youth agayne.  
To finde youth in age is a probleme diffuse,  
But nowe heare the truth, and then no longer muse.  
As I late turned olde bookes to and fro,  
One litle treatise I founde among the mo:  
Because that in youth I did compile the same,  
Egloges of youth I did call it by name.  
And seing some men have in the same delite,  
At their great instance I made the same perfite.  
Adding and bating<sup>1</sup> where I perceyved neede.’

He had probably translated the tract of Æninus Sylvius into the form of a dialogue fairly early in his career.

<sup>1</sup> For ‘abate’—to reduce, decrease, diminish.

## Introduction: The Eclogues

The publication of Virgil's *Bucolics* by Wynkyn de Worde in 1512 and again in 1514 may have re-directed his attention to the pastoral and set him revising previous translations from Mantuan. It seems almost certain that, in the year 1514, realising how excellently the pastoral dress would, according to the ideas of the Humanists, enhance the satire of Pius II's *Miseria Curialium*, he revised the fifth and fourth eclogues from Mantuan, interpolated into the latter a long elegy on a recent event, and then, correcting his *Miseries of Courtiers*, inserted it into a pastoral frame.

The fifth eclogue reveals a closer dependence on Mantuan than the fourth, and was probably the first to be revised. The three poems on the misery of court life are bolder in execution and may have been given their final form after the other two of the series. But this is a moot point, for by each printer they are alluded to as the 'first three eclogues' and in the collected edition of Cawood they precede the fourth and fifth.

To insist on the historical to the detriment of the literary value of Barclay's Eclogues, is to damn them with faint praise. It would be easy to condemn them as pedestrian and hopelessly prolix, and to deny them most of the qualifications expected of poetry. But if they never transport, they frequently rouse, sometimes delight, and seldom fail to interest and amuse. All long poems are in a sense failures, for it is impossible to maintain the same high level of transport or ecstasy, wit or interest, throughout. Purple patches are inevitable. The Eclogues are no exception, for one remembers with pleasure the lively description of winter evenings in the fourth, the humorous tale of Adam and Eve and the lines on football in the fifth, and the Alcock passages in the first and third.

The versification is little rough, but not unpleasant, and the style vigorous, if not at times actually racy. Barclay seems to have been a serious man with a subtle

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sense of humour, for he is never tired of driving home a moral with a proverb. He quotes proverbs with the persistency of Sancho Panza. But this habit of appeal to popular wisdom lends considerable force to the simplicity and directness of his diction.<sup>1</sup> No unprejudiced reader would suspect for a moment that the Eclogues were a compilation, so successfully blended are the various elements of which they are composed.

Barclay was a pioneer, but he was probably quite unaware of the momentous step he was taking in introducing in humble guise a literary form which was to produce some of the purest poetry of the 'spacious times of great Elizabeth.'

His influence upon his successors in the pastoral kind seems to have been almost negligible. Barnabe Googe<sup>2</sup> is quite independent of Barclay, and Francis Sabie<sup>3</sup> is indebted to him for nothing but an occasional hint, while E.K. suggests in his prefatory letter to the 'Shepherds Calendar' that Spenser was unaware of the existence of Barclay's work, writing that he chose the Eclogue form:

'mynding to furnish our tongue with this Kinde,  
wherein it faulteth.'<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Analogous is the frequent and effective citation of English place-names.

<sup>2</sup> Barnabe Googe: 'Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonnettes,' 1563, modelled on Mantuan.

<sup>3</sup> Francis Sabie—'Pan's Pipe,' 1595—indebted to Mantuan and other Latin writers. Some lines may have been suggested by Barclay.

<sup>4</sup> It is hardly possible that Spenser was ignorant of Barclay's poems. There was a general revival of earlier writers at this time. Hawe's *Pastime of Pleasure* was reprinted in 1555, Skelton's works were republished in 1568, and Heywood's *Proverbs* were reprinted five times between 1560 and 1576. Moreover, in 1570, Cawood published his folio edition of the *Ship of Fools* to which the Eclogues were appended. This was the year following Spenser's entrance to Cambridge, so that

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This neglect seems to have been due, not to any ignorance of Barclay's work, but to the overshadowing fame of Mantuan.

'The popularity of the Latin Eclogues was so enormous that later poets turned to him for inspiration, form and material.'

Moreover, the cast of Barclay's mind was entirely mediæval. He has much more in common with Lydgate

it is unlikely that he knew nothing of these earlier pastorals. E.K.'s epistle bears some resemblance to Barclay's Prologue; his 'following the example of the best and most auncient Poetes, which devised this kind of wryting, being both so base for the matter, and homely for the manner, at the first to trye theyr habilities; and as young birdes, that be newly crept out of the nest, by little first to prove theyr tender wynges, before they make a greater flyght,' recalls Barclay's

'Therefore wise Poetes to sharpe and proue their wit,  
In homely iestes wrote many a mery fit.  
Before they durst be of audacitie  
Taurenture thinges of weyght and grauitie,'

and

'The birde vnused first flying from her nest  
Dare not aduenture, and is not bolde nor prest  
With winges abroade to flye as doth the olde,  
For vse and custome causeth all thing be bolde.'

The list of pastoral poets is the same in both—Theocritus, Virgil, Mantuan, Petrarch, Boccaccio. But 'although Spenser has drawn largely upon Mantuan, sometimes upon the very eclogues used by Barclay, there is no resemblance to the latter other than that gained by possession of a common source.' 'Spenser apparently owes nothing to his predecessor. Nor is there any indebtedness in the *Shepherds Calendar* to parts of the *Eclogues* not taken from Mantuan. A comparison of the two pastorals entire, shows that there is no more than an accidental verbal resemblance or one due to common use of a familiar proverb.'

('Alexander Barclay and the later Eclogue writers.' J. R. Schultz. *Modern Language Notes*. Vol. 35, pp. 52-4.)

(O. Reissert. 'Bemerkungen über Spenser's *Shepherds Calendar* und die Frühere *Bukolik*.' *Anglia* ix, 205.)

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than with Spenser. It is as a translator that he excels, and on his own ground he is hard to beat. Comparisons are odious, but a necessary evil when literary reputations are at stake.

In 1567 Mantuan's *Eclogues* were rendered into English verse by George Turberville,<sup>1</sup> and again in 1655 by Thomas Harvey.<sup>2</sup> Barclay's manly verse quite eclipses Turberville's emasculate jingle, and compares very favourably with Harvey's more polished effort. The same passage from Mantuan's fifth *Eclogue* appears in Barclay's translation as:

'A plentifull house out chaseth thought and care,  
Sojourne doth sorowe there where all thing is bare,  
The seller couched with bere, with ale or wine,  
And meates ready when man hath lust to dine,  
Great barnes full, fat wethers in the folde,  
The purse well stuffed with silver and with golde,  
Favour of frendes, and suche as loveth right  
All these and other do make thee full light,  
Then is it pleasure the yonge maydens amonge  
To wathe by the fire the winters nightes longe:  
At their fonde tales to laugh, or when they brall,  
Great fire and candell spending for laboure small,  
And in the ashes some playes for to marke,  
To cover wardens for fault of other warke.

<sup>1</sup> 'The Eglogs of the Poet B. Mantuan Carmelitan,  
Turned into English Verse, and set forth with the  
Argument to every Egloge by George Turberville Gent.

Anno 1567.

Imprinted at London in Paternoster Rowe,  
at the signe of the Marmayde, by Henrie Bynneman.'

(The first nine *Eclogues*.)

<sup>2</sup> 'The Bucolicks of Baptist Mantuan in Ten *Eclogues*. Translated  
out of Latine into English, by Tho: Harvey Gent. London.

Printed for Humphrey Moseley, and are to be sold at his Shop at  
the Princes Armes in S. Pauls Churchyard.' 1655.

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To taste white shevers, and to make prophitroles,  
And after talking oft time to fill the bowles.  
Where wealth aboundeth without rebuke or crime,  
Thus do some heardes for pleasure and pastime—

in Turberville's as:

'A house that stored is with wealth  
    where trash and treasure lies,  
Doth cruell cares exile  
    and banish dumpes away.  
A Sellar full, Foldes stuff with flockes,  
    Pots full as ere they may:  
A Flaggon full to brimme,  
    as much as it can holde,  
Barne full, fatte Cattle, and a Pursse  
    puft up with peysing Golde,  
These make the merry minde.  
    Then pleasaunt 'tis to wake  
The Winter nights, and with a sticke  
    at fiers side to make  
Good sport with streking of  
    the Asshes furrowise:  
And roast the Chestnutte that yrakt  
    in scalding imber lies.  
And with an alie Cruse  
    the cruell thirst to quell,  
And pleasaunt tales among a route  
    of spinning Trulls to tell—'

and in Harvey's rendering as:

'Well furnish'd houses, Cellers full of wine,  
Full vessels, flaggons full, full food to dine.  
Barns full of Corn, fair flocks that bear the Bell,  
Full bags of money; These all cares expell.  
Then in December, in those winter nights,  
To sit before the fire it much delights,

### *Introduction: The Eclogues*

And there in th' ashes (for a sporting trick)  
To plough up furrows with a little stick;  
To rost ripe Chestnuts there, and them all over  
With embers till they rosted are, to cover;  
With full fill'd glasses of refined wine  
To quench our thirst, to please our taste. In fine,  
Among the merry spinning Maids to sit,  
And hear them tell a Tale, and laugh at it.'

It would not be unfair, all things considered, to give the palm to Barclay, who appears to aim not at a rigid adherence to the letter, but at a skilful adaptation to English conditions, not at a Procrustean adjustment of form to sense, but at the production of analogous effects, at transfusion rather than at translation.





# Barclay's Eclogues



Certayne Egloges of Alexander Barclay Priest,  
Whereof the first three conteyne the miseries of  
Courtiers and Courtes of all princes in generall,  
*Gathered out of a booke named in Latin, MISERIÆ*  
*CVRIALIVM,*<sup>1</sup> compiled by *Eneas Syluius*<sup>2</sup> Poet and  
Oratour.

The Prologe.

**T**He famous Poetes with the Muses nine  
With wit inspired, fresh, pregnant and diuine,  
Say, boldly indite in stile substanciall:  
Some in Poemes hye and heroicall,  
Some them delite in heauy Tragedies, 5  
And some in wanton or mery Comedies.  
Some in Satyres against vices dare carpe,  
Some in sweete songes accordant with the harpe.  
And eche of these all had laude and excellence  
After their reason and stile of eloquence. 10  
Who in fayre speeche could briefly comprehende  
Moste fruitfull matter, men did him moste commende.  
And who were fruitlesse, and in speeche superflue,  
Men by their writing scantly set a qu.<sup>3</sup>  
Therefore wise Poetes to sharpe and proue their wit, 15  
In homely iestes wrote many a mery fit.  
Before they durst be of audacitie  
Taurenture thinges of weyght and grauitie.  
In this saide<sup>4</sup> maner the famous Theocrite  
First in Siracuse attempted for to write 20  
Certayne Egloges or speeches pastorall,  
Inducing Shepherdes, men homely and rurall.  
Which in playne language, according to their name,  
Had sundry talking, sometime of mirth and game,<sup>5</sup>  
Sometime of thinges more like to grauitie, 25  
And not exceeding their small capacitie.  
Moste noble Uirgill after him longe while  
Wrote also Egloges after like maner stile.  
His wittes prouing in matters pastorall,  
Or he durst venture to stile heroicall. 30

*The Egloges of Alexander Barciay*

And in like maner nowe lately in our dayes  
Hath other Poetes attempted the same wayes:  
As the moste famous Baptist Mantuan  
The best of that sort since Poetes first began.  
And Frauncis Petrarke also in Italy 35  
In like maner stile wrote playne and meryly.  
What shall I speake of the father auncient,<sup>1</sup>  
Which in brieft language both playne and eloquent,  
Betwene Alatheia, Sewstis stoute and bolde  
Hath made rehearsall of all thy<sup>2</sup> storyes olde, 40  
By true historyes vs teaching to obiect  
Against vayne fables of olde Gentiles sect.  
Beside all these yet finde I many mo  
Which haue employed their diligence also,  
Betwene Shepherdes, as it were but a fable, 45  
To write of matters both true and profitable.  
But all their names I purpose not to write,  
Which in this maner made bookes infinite.  
Nowe to my purpose, their workes worthy fame  
Did in<sup>3</sup> my yonge age my heart greatly inflame. 50  
Dull slouth eschewing,<sup>4</sup> my selfe to exercise  
In such small matters, or I durst enterprise  
To hyer matter, like as these children do,  
Which first vse to creepe, and afterwarde to go.<sup>5</sup>  
The birde vnused first flying from her nest 55  
Dare not aduenture, and is not bold nor prest  
With winges abroad to flye as doth the olde,  
For vse and custome causeth all thing<sup>6</sup> be bolde:  
And litle cunning by craft and exercise  
To perfect science causeth a man to rise. 60  
But or the Paynter can sure his craft attayne,  
Much froward fashion transfourmeth he in vayne.  
But rasing superflue, and adding that doth want,  
Rude picture is made both perfect and pleasant.  
So where I in youth a certayne worke began,<sup>7</sup> 65  
And not concluded, as oft doth many a man:  
Yet thought I after to make the same perfite,

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

But long I missed that which I first did write.  
But here a wonder, I fortie yere saue twayne  
Proceeded<sup>1</sup> in age, founde my first youth agayne. 70  
To finde youth in age is a probleme diffuse,  
But nowe heare the truth, and then no longer muse.<sup>2</sup>  
As I late turned olde bookes to and fro,  
One litle treatise I founde among the mo:  
Because that in youth I did compile the same, 75  
Egloges of youth I did call it by name.<sup>3</sup>  
And seing some men haue in the same delite,  
At their great instance I made the same perfite.  
Adding and bating where I perceyued neede,  
All them desiring which shall this treatise rede, 80  
Not to be griued with any playne sentence<sup>4</sup>  
Rudely conuayed for lacke of eloquence.  
It were not fitting a heard or man rurall  
To speake in termes gay and rhetoricall.  
So teacheth Horace in arte of poetry, 85  
That writers namely their reason should apply  
Mete speeche approppring to euery personage,  
After his estate, behauour, wit and age.  
But if that any would nowe to me obiect  
That this my labour shall be of small effect, 90  
And to the Reader not greatly profitable,  
And by that maner as vayne and reprouable,  
Because it maketh onely relation  
Of Shepherdes maner and disputation.  
If any suche reade my treatise to the ende 95  
He shall well perceyue, if he thereto intende,  
That it conteyneth both laudes of vertue,<sup>5</sup>  
And man infourmeth misliuing to eschue,  
With diuers bourdes and sentences morall,  
Closed in shadowe of speeches pastorall, 100  
As many Poetes (as I haue sayde beforene)  
Haue vsed longe time before that I was borne.  
But of their writing though I ensue the rate,  
No name I chalenge of Poete laureate. Ai

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

That name vnto them is mete and doth agree 105  
Which writeth matters with curiositee.  
Mine habite blacke accordeth not with grene,  
Blacke betokeneth death as it is dayly sene,  
The grene is pleasour, freshe lust and iolite,<sup>1</sup>  
These two in nature hath great diuersitie. 110  
Then who would ascribe, except he were a foole,  
The pleasaunt laurer vnto the mourning cowle.  
Another rewarde abideth my labour,  
The glorious sight of God my sauour,  
Which is chiefe shepheard and head of other all, 115  
To him for succour in this my worke I call,  
And not on Clio nor olde Melpomene,  
My hope is fixed of him ayded to be  
[That he me direct, my mynde for to expresse:  
That he, to good ende, my wyt and pen addresse.] \* 120  
For to accomlishe my purpose and entent  
To laude and pleasour of God omnipotent,  
And to the profite, the pleasour and the mede,  
Of all them which shall this treatise here and rede.  
But to the Reader nowe to returne agayne, 125  
First of this thing I will thou be certayne,  
That fūe Egloges this whole treatise doth holde,<sup>2</sup>  
To imitation of other Poetes olde.  
In whiche Egloges shepheardes thou mayst see  
In homely language not passing their degree, 130  
Sometime<sup>3</sup> disputing of courtly misery,  
Sometime of Uenus disceatfull tyranny.  
Sometime commending loue honest and laudable,  
Sometime despising loue false and<sup>4</sup> deceyuable,  
Sometime despising and blaming auarise, 135  
Sometime exciting vertue to exercise,  
Sometime of warre abhorring the outrage,  
And of the same time the manifolde damage,  
And other matters, as after shall appeare  
To their great pleasure which shal them rede or heare. 140

\* From Humphrey Powell's edition.

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

The Argument of the First Egloge.<sup>1</sup>

**T**Wo simple shepheardes met on a certayne day,  
The one well aged and with lockes hore and gray,  
Which after labours and worldly busines  
Concluded to liue in rest and quietnes.  
Yet nought had he kept to finde him cloth nor fode, 145  
At diuers holes his heare grewe through his hode,  
A stiffe patched felt hanging ouer his eyne,  
His costly clothing was thredebare kendall grene,<sup>2</sup>  
His patched cockers<sup>3</sup> skant reached to his knee,  
In the side of his felte there stacke a sponne of tree,<sup>4</sup> 150  
A botle his cote on the one side had torne,  
For hanging the eare was nere a sunder worne.  
In his owne<sup>5</sup> hande alway his pipe he bare,  
Whereof the sound him released<sup>6</sup> of his care,  
His wallet with bread and chese, so then he stood 155  
(A hooke in his hande) in the middest of his good.<sup>7</sup>  
Saue that he bosted to haue experience  
Of worldly thinges, by practise and science,  
Him selfe he called Cornix by his name.  
The other shepheard was like vnto the same, 160  
Saue one that he had liued all his dayes<sup>8</sup>  
In keping his flocke,<sup>9</sup> and sene no farther wayes.  
Yet was he to sight a stoute and lustie freake,<sup>10</sup>  
And as he bosted he borne was in the peake.<sup>11</sup>  
Coridon by name his neighbours did him call, 165  
Him selfe counted the stoutest of them all.  
This Coridon sware and saide to Cornix sure  
That he no longer would there that life endure  
In wretched labour and still in pouertie,  
But to the Citie he saide that he would hye,<sup>12</sup> 170  
Or els to the Court, and there with some abide  
Till time that fortune would better life prouide.  
By which mocion Cornix sheweth playnly  
Of Court and Courtiers the care and misery.

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

The First Egloge of the miseries and maners of  
the Court and Courtiers.

*Coridon first speaketh.*

**F**Orsooth frende Cornix nought can my heart make 175  
light<sup>1</sup>

When I remember the stormes of yester night,  
The thunder & lightning, the tempest & the hayle  
Hath playnely wasted our profite and auayle,  
The fearefull thunder with greeuous clap and sounde  
Our Corne hath beaten downe flat vnto the grounde, 180  
With tempest after and violence of rayne  
That it as I doubt shall neuer rise agayne.  
The hayle hath beaten our shepe within the folde,  
That all be febled aswell the yong as olde,<sup>2</sup>  
Our milke is turned and waxen<sup>3</sup> pale and soure, 185  
The storme and tempest vpon our couches poure,  
Our flocke and fieldes is all our whole riches,  
Which still is subiect to suche vnhappines:  
For after that we haue done both cost and payne,  
One sodeyn tempest destroyeth all agayne. 190  
Then farewell welfare, worsechance we[n]dede\* not feare<sup>1</sup>  
Saue onely to sucke our clawes with the Beare.  
The Citizens haue great treasure sikerly<sup>5</sup>  
In cofers closed auoyde of ieopardie,  
Their coynes couched faste vnder locke and key, 195  
From place to place they may the same conuay  
When they of the theues perceiue the din and sounde:  
But still must our corne remayne vpon the grounde,  
Abiding stormes, hayle, thunder and tempest,  
Till that it be for sikle ripe and prest. 200  
As for their riches no thunder, frost nor hayle,  
No storme nor tempest can hurt or disauayle.  
Suche carefull chaunces and such aduersitie  
Us alway kepeth in wretched pouertie.

\* Cawood 'dede.'



*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

*Cornix answereth.*

O Coridon my mate I sweare so haue I blis, 205  
Thou playnly speakest like as the matter is,  
But as for my parte my minde and wit is blinde  
To knowe who gideth all wether storme and winde,  
But this thing I knowe, but yet not parfitely,  
Yet bolde dare I be to speake to thee playnly, 210  
For if that I spake it in some audience  
Some men would maligne and take it for offence,  
If God (as men say) doth heauen and earth sustayne,  
Then why doth not he regarde our dayly payne?  
Our greuous labour he iustly might deuide, 215  
And for vs wretches some better life provide.  
Some nought doth labour and liueth pleasauntly,  
Though all his reason to vices he apply:  
But see with what sweat, what busines and payne  
Our simple liuing we labour to obtayne: 220  
Beholde what illes the shepheardes must endure  
For flocke and housholde bare liuing to procure,  
In feruent heate we must intende our folde,  
And in the winter almost we frese for colde:  
Upon the harde ground or on the flintes browne 225  
We slepe, when other lye on a bed of downe.  
A thousande illes of daunger and sicknesse,  
With diuers sores our beastes doth oppresse:<sup>1</sup>  
A thousande perils and mo if they were tolde  
Dayly and nightly inuadeth our poore folde. 230  
Sometime the wolfe our beastes doth deuour,  
And sometime the thefe awayteth for his hour:  
Or els the souldiour much worse then wolfe or thefe  
Agaynst all our flocke inrageth with mischefe.  
See howe my handes are with many a gall, 235  
And stiffe as a borde by worke continuall,  
My face all scoruy,<sup>2</sup> my colour pale and wan,  
My head all parched and blacke as any pan,  
My beard like bristles, so that that a pliant leeke  
With a little helpe<sup>3</sup> may thrust me throw the cheeke, 240

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

And as a stockfishe<sup>1</sup> wrinkled is my skinne,  
Suche is the profite that I by labour winne.  
But this my labour should greue me much the lesse  
If rest or pleasure came of my businesse:  
But one sodayne storme of thunder, hayle or rayne, 245  
Agayne all wasteth wherfore I toke this payne.  
This is the rewarde, the dede and worke diuine,  
Unto whose aulters poore shepherdes incline:  
To offer tapers and candles we are fayne,  
And for our offering, lo, this we haue agayne. 250  
I can not declare what pitie and mercy  
Wrappeth vs wretches in this harde misery,  
But this wot I well,<sup>2</sup> it is both right and mede,  
There moste to succour where doth appeare most nede.

*Coridon*

Ho there frende Cornix, thou wadest nowe to farre, 255  
Thy selfe forgetting thou leapest ouer the barre:  
Smal is my knowledge, thou many a thing hast sene,  
Yet out of the way forsoth I see thee clene.  
The king of heauen is mercifull and iust,  
And them all helpeth which put in him their trust: 260  
When we deserue he striketh not alway,  
This in the pulpit I hear[d]<sup>3</sup>\* syr Peter<sup>4</sup> say,  
Yet ofte he striketh when man is obstinate,  
And by no meanes will his misliuing hate:  
So all these plagues and inconuenience 265  
Fal[l]s<sup>5</sup>† on vs wretches onely for our offence.

*Cornix*

For what offence? thou art mad so to say,  
Were we of that sorte which did our Lorde betray,  
Or that consented our Lorde to crucify?  
We neuer were suche thy selfe can testifie. 270

*Coridon*

Nowe trust me truly<sup>6</sup> though thou be neuer so wroth,  
I nought shall abashe to thee to say the troth:  
Though we shepherdes be out of company,

\* Cawood: 'heart'; † 'Fales.'

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Without occasion we liue vnhappely,  
Seke well among vs and playnly thou shalt see 275  
Theft, brauling, malice, discorde, iniquitie,  
Wrath, lechery, leasing,<sup>1</sup> enuy and couetise,  
And briefly to speake, truely we want no vice.

*Cornix*

What, nay man pardie all we do not offence,  
Yet all haue sorowe without all difference, 280  
Say nought man but truth, do God nothing deserue  
[W]ithout\* difference, yet be all like to sterue.<sup>2</sup>

*Coridon*

What ceasse man for shame thou art of reason scant,  
The wise now must learne wit of the ignoraunt:  
I haue no knowledge saue onely of my tarre, 285  
Yet this I perceauē, man should not seke to farre  
In Gods workes, he all doth for the best.  
If thou findest here no easement, wealth ne rest,  
What then, seke farther, for playnely so shall I,  
In some place fortune beholdeth merily. 290  
I bide no longer by saint Thomas of Kent  
In suche bare places where<sup>3</sup> euery day is Lent,  
The Frers haue store euery day of the weke,<sup>4</sup>  
But euery day our meat is for to seke.  
I nought haue to bye, begge can I not for shame 295  
Except that I were blinde, impotent or lame:  
If suche a gadling as I should begge or craue  
Of me suche mercy and pitie would men haue,  
That they for almes (I sweare by Gods sockes)  
In euery towne would make [m]e† scoure the stockes: 300  
That can one Drome by many assayes tell,  
With that ill science I purpose not to mell,  
Here nothing I haue wherfore I nede to care,  
Nowe Cornix adue straight forwarde will I fare.

*Cornix*

Streight forwarde man, hei Benedicite, 305  
All other people haue as great care as we,

\* Cawood: 'without'; † 'we.'

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Onely bare nede is all our payne and wo,  
But these Towne dwellers haue many paynes mo,  
Our payne is pleasour nere in comparison  
Of their great illes and sore vexation. 310  
Of all suche thinges haue I experience,  
Then mayst thou surely geue to me credence:  
Whither wilt thou go to liue more quietly?  
Man all the worlde is full of misery.

*Coridon*

What man, the court is freshe and full of ease, 315  
-I can drawe a bowe, I shall some lorde there please,  
Thy selfe can report howe I can birdes kill,  
Mine arowe toucheth of them nothing but the bill,  
I hurte no fleshe, nor bruse no parte at all,  
Were not my shoting our liuing were but small: 320  
Lo here a sparowe, lo here be thrushes four,  
All these I killed ' this day within an hour.  
-I can daunce the raye,<sup>2</sup> I can both pipe and sing,  
-If I were mery I can both hurle<sup>3</sup> and fling,  
-I runne, I wrastle, I can well throwe the barre,<sup>4</sup> 325  
-No shepheard throweth the axeltrie<sup>5</sup> so farre,  
-If I were mery I could well leape and spring,  
-I were a man mete to serue a prince or king.  
Wherefore to the Court nowe will I get me playne,  
Aduē swete Cornix, farewell yet once agayne, 330  
Prouide for thy selfe, so shall I do for me.

*Cornix*

Do way<sup>6</sup> Coridon, for Gods loue let be,  
Nought els is the Court but euen the deuils mouth,  
And place most carefull<sup>7</sup> of East, west, north, & south:  
For thy longe seruice there nede shall be thy hyre, 335  
Out of the water thou leapest into the fyre.  
We liue in sorowe I will it not deny,  
But in the Court is the well of misery.

*Coridon*

What man, thou seest, and in likewise see I,  
That lusty courtiers go alway iolily, 340

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

They haue no labour yet are they wel besene,  
Barded and garded<sup>1</sup> in pleasaunt white and grene,  
They do nought els but reuell, slepe and drinke,  
But on his foldes the poore shepheard muste thinke. A ij  
They rest, we labour, they gayly decked be 345  
While we go ragged in<sup>2</sup> nede and pouertie,  
Their colour lustie, they bide no storme nor shours,  
They haue the pleasoures, but all the paynes are<sup>3</sup> ours.  
They haue all thinges, but we wretches haue nought,  
They sing, they daunce, while we sore sigh for thought. 350  
But what bringeth them to this prosperitie,  
Strength, courage, frendes, crafte and audacitie.  
If I had frendes I haue all thing beside,  
Which might in court a rowme for me prouide.  
But sith courtiers haue this life continually, 355  
They haue all pleasour and nought of misery.

*Cornix*

Not so Coridon, oft vnder yelowelockes  
Be hid foule scabbes and fearefull French pockes,  
Their reuilde<sup>4</sup> shirtes of cloth white, soft and thin  
Ofte time cloketh a foule and scoruy skin. 360  
And where we labour in workes profitable,  
They labour sorer in worke abhominable.  
They may haue shame to iet<sup>5</sup> so vp and downe  
When they be debtours for dublet, hose and gowne,  
And in the tauerne remayne they last for lag, 365  
When neuer a crosse<sup>6</sup> is in their courtly bag.  
They crake,<sup>7</sup> they boste, and vaunt as they were wood,<sup>8</sup>  
And moste when they sit in midst of others good.  
Nought haue they fooles<sup>9</sup> but care and misery,  
Who hath it proued all courting shall defy. 370

*Coridon*

Mary Syr by this I see by<sup>10</sup> experience  
That thou in the Court has kept some residence.

*Cornix*

Remembring of court the payne continuall  
I thinke these paynes but easy, short and small:

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

So the remembraunce of greuous care and payne 375  
Causeth me gladly this hardnes to sustayne.  
Who that hath liued in court I thee assure,  
In stede of pleasour may this our life endure.  
Our nede is eased with pleasaunt libertie,  
There care is heaped with harde captiuitie, 380  
I thought our liuing care and vexation  
Before of the court or thou made mention.

*Coridon*

If the court be suche as thou dost playnly tell  
I thinke it folly with it to deale or mell,  
Better is freewill with nede and pouertie 385  
Then in the court<sup>1</sup> with harde captiuitie:  
But tell me Cornix I pray thee instantly,  
Howe knowest thou first this geare so perfitely.

*Cornix*

While I in youth in Croidon towne did dwell  
Often to the court I coles brought to sell,<sup>2</sup> 390  
And then I learned and noted parfitely  
Of court and courtiers the care and misery.  
For I lurked and none regarded me,  
Till I had knowledge of hye and lowe degree,  
What was their maner, behauour and vsage, 395  
The more I taried more sawe I of outrage.

*Coridon*

Then farewell courting, I see thou countest best  
Here to remayne in simple welth and rest,  
But in the meane season I pray thee hartily  
Declare me all whole the courtly misery. 400  
Beholde our wethers [l]ye<sup>3\*</sup> chewing of the cud,  
Here is no perill of water dike nor mud,  
Slouth loueth slombring, muche slepe is reprouable,  
But mery talking is greatly comfortable.  
Here is colde shadowe, here is a cleare fountayne, 405  
When wordes greueth drinke and begin agayne,  
For longe time passed I haue heard of thy lore,

\* Cawood: 'iye.'

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Which thing me moueth to heare thee talke the more.  
Begin and shewe me the courtes wretchednesse,  
So I perchaunce shall set therby the lesse: 410  
And where longe talking oft greueth many a man  
I shall thee furnishe with wordes nowe and then.  
What say on Cornix, why art thou nowe so still?  
Thy wit and reason was wont to be at will.

*Cornix*

Fayne would I common for pleasour and pastime, 415  
But truth is counted most greuous fault and crime,<sup>1</sup>  
And some might me heare which by their wordes soure  
Might bring me in court to greuous displeasure,  
Because I shall proue all them that court doth haunt  
Miserable fooles, mad men and ignoraunt. 420  
Therefore Coridon among the bowes pry  
If there lurke any lay, Sterling, Thrush or Pye  
To note my wordes, and chat them foorth agayne,  
Wherby I might winne displeasour, losse or payne.

*Coridon*

Losse, Gods dominus, to lose thou haste no good, 425  
Saue hooke and cokers, thy botle and thy hood,  
Thy hood all ragged can kepe no body drye,  
Many hath as good, though none can them espye:  
He hath small reason that hath a hood more fine,  
And would for malice berob thee here of thine, 430  
As for displeasour I warrant thee also.  
Thou shalt for princes great ease and pleasour do,  
For many vpon them do dayly craue and call  
To be in seruice, which are not mete at all:  
To be in the<sup>2</sup> court they labour so gladly 435  
Because they knowe not therof the misery.  
Whom to receiue it is not profitable,  
And to despise them it is not honorable.  
If thou suche constrayne to leaue of their own minde,  
Thou doest to princes a very pleasour kinde, 440  
And other fooles shall take thy tale in sporte,  
And neuerthesse shall to the court resorte.

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Then let not Cornix, playnly to say the troth,  
Let scabbed clawe, and gyly men be wroth,  
Better is for truth suffer paynes harde, 445  
Then for false flattering to haue a great rewarde.

*Cornix*

Thou saiest but reason, I laude thee by saint Iohn,  
Then boldly demaunde I pray thee Coridon  
Of suche matters as to the court belonge,  
And I shall answere, dene<sup>1</sup> if it be wrong 450  
That I haue learned by practise and science,  
I shall as I may geue thee intelligence.

*Coridon*

The court as thou sayest is false and deceyuable,  
Then tell me wherfore that men most honorable  
Therin remayning abideth care and payne, 455  
And yet by their will they will not foorth agayne.

*Cornix*

Many things be which moueth<sup>2</sup> people blinde  
To ren to the court with feruent heart and minde,  
But of all things this specially is one,  
The hope of honour called ambition. 460  
Right so Minalcas<sup>3</sup> did luste of honour call,  
And as he counted,<sup>4</sup> ambition is egall  
Unto that vertue which men call charitie.  
Charitie suffreth all harde aduersitie,  
All payne and labour, and all vexation: 465  
And euen as muche suffreth ambition.  
For worldly wretches in honour to excell  
Force not to labour downe to the pit of hell,  
Lo here chiefe cause why men to court resorte,  
But once in the court when they haue had comfort, 470  
Suche is of mankinde the blinde calamitie,  
That in one state if they longe time haue be,

---

Plurima sunt, mi Iohannes, quæ nos cogunt perse-  
uerare; sed nulla est ratio prior, quam ambitio, quæ  
tanquam æmula Charitatis, omnia fert onera, quamuis



*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

^ A life there liuing but vile and full of shame,  
'Yet by no meane' can they despise the same.  
'So who that in youth hath vsed courtes rage, 475  
'They finde no meane' to leaue the same in age,  
'And to win laudes and prayse of the commontie  
In no harde labour thinke they difficultie:  
'But if men hunted for God and hye glory,  
'As they hunt dayly for honour transitory, 480  
'Right fewe or none would to the court apply,  
'There to be tangled with care and misery.  
But to the court if thou hast thine intent  
Because Prelates and wise men it frequent,  
Heare what the shepheard of Nazareth doth say, 485  
As I heard Faustus declare vpon a day:  
Upon the hye chayre and seat of Moyses  
Sitte the olde Scribes and sect of Pharises,<sup>3</sup>  
Liue as they teach, but liue not as they do.  
And thus in the court man must behaue him so. 490  
His life refourming like as suche ought to liue,  
Not by example which they to other giue.

*Coridon*

These be hye<sup>4</sup> matters and farre beyonde my wit,  
If suche be the court what man should<sup>5</sup> mel<sup>6</sup> with it?  
Yet I assure thee before this I haue sene 495  
That worthy shephardes long in the court haue bene.

---

grauissima, vt honoribus seculi, ac popularibus laudibus  
efferatur. Quod si humiles essemus, & animam potius  
lucrari, quam vanā venari gloriam studeremus, haud  
multi profecto in hæc taedia sese reciperent.

Ad eos igitur, qui propterea sequi Reges volunt,  
quia Prælatos & doctos in Curijs esse conspiciunt, Salua-  
toris nostri Iesu vocem obijciam: Super Cathedrā Moisi  
sederunt Scribæ & Pharisei, quæ dicunt facite, secun-  
dum opera eorum nolite facere. Non igitur, quod in-  
signes viri, ac Magistri vite, faciunt, sed quod facere  
debent, imitari oportet.

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

*Cornix*

All that I graunt thee, but aske and thou shalt finde  
That suche in the court abode agaynst their mind,  
As the riche shepheard<sup>1</sup> which woned<sup>2</sup> in Mortlake.

*Coridon*

O Cornix, Cornix, fele howe my hart doth quake, 500  
On him when I thinke my heart is full of payne,  
Would God that we could get him to liue agayne.  
What time he liued some did him blame<sup>3</sup> iwis,<sup>4</sup>  
Which since he died do<sup>5</sup> him sore lacke and mis.  
He passed Codrus, he passed Minalcas, 505  
He passed Mopsus and also Lisidas,<sup>6</sup>  
None other shepheard might with that man compare,  
In during his life we neded not to care,  
But euer sith time that he was dead and gone  
We suffer wrongs, defender haue we none, 510  
He was the patron of thinges pastorall,  
His face and fauour forget I neuer shall.  
Whyle I was yong he came vnto our cotage,<sup>7</sup>  
Then was my father Amintas farre in age,  
But the same shepheard gaue him both cloth and golde, 515  
O Cornix, the yong be much vnlike the olde.

*Cornix*

Yes since his dayes a cocke was in the fen,  
I knowe his voyce among a thousande men,  
He taught, he preached, he mended euery wrong,<sup>8</sup>  
But Coridon alas no good thing bideth long. 520  
He all was a cocke,<sup>9</sup> he wakened vs from slepe,  
And while we slumbred he did our foldes kepe,  
No cur, no foxes,<sup>10</sup> nor butchers dogges wood<sup>11</sup>  
Coude hurte our fouldes, his watching was so good,  
The hungry wolues which that time did abounde 525  
What time he crowed abashed at the sounde.  
This cocke was no more abashed of the foxe  
Then is a lion abashed of an oxe.  
When he went faded the floure of all the fen,

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

I boldly dare sweare this cocke trode neuer hen. 530  
This was a father of thinges pastorall,  
And that well sheweth his Church cathedrall,  
There was I lately about the middest of May,  
Coridon his Church is twenty sith more gay  
Then all the Churches betwene the same and Kent, 535  
There sawe I his tome and Chapell excellent.  
I thought fīue houres but euen a little while,  
Saint Iohn the virgin me thought did on me smile,  
Our parishe Church is but a dongeon  
To that gay Churche in comparison.' 540  
If the people were as pleasaunt as the place  
Then were it paradise of pleasour and solace,  
Then might I truely right well finde in my heart  
There still to abide and neuer to departe.  
But since that this cocke by death hath left his song 545  
Trust me Coridon there many a thing is wrong,  
When I sawe his figure lye in the Chapell side,  
Like death<sup>2</sup> for weping I might no longer bide.  
Lo all good thinges so sone away doth glide,  
That no man liketh to long doth rest and abide. 550  
When the good is gone (my mate this is the case)  
Seldome the better reentreth in the place.

*Coridon*

Thou saiest truth Cornix I make to God auowe,  
But hay mate Cornix see where be we nowe?  
Farre from the matter where<sup>3</sup> we first began, 555  
Begin where we left I pray thee if thou can.

*Cornix*

That shall I lightly: thou saydest that a sorte  
Of goode olde shepheardes did to the court resorte,  
But suche as be good be there agaynst their will,  
For truely in court they finde lesse good then ill, 560  
To see muche amis to them it is great payne,  
When for their wordes none will his vice refrayne,  
Then get they but scorne and indignation,  
And for their good mindes payne and vexation.

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

*Coridon*<sup>1</sup>

I pray thee Cornix procede, tell by and by.<sup>2</sup> 565

*Cornix*

Of court and courtiers the payne and misery?  
That were a longe matter and very harde to do.

*Coridon*

This is best remedy, take longer time therto.  
Here is a pleasaunt<sup>3</sup> shadowe, here is a pleasaunt coole,  
Take banke and floures for cushen and for stoole. 570

*Cornix*

Then lay downe thy hooke, geue me the<sup>4</sup> bottle nere,  
With often washing the throte and voyce is clere.

*Coridon*

Lo here the bottle, drinke suche as is therein,  
Drinke better, and then in the name of God begin,

*Cornix*

A syr well drawen, and that with little payne, 575  
Then turne we our<sup>5</sup> speche vnto the court agayne.  
Who will to the court first let him thinke before  
Whether he may suffer labour and paynes sore,  
Both hunger and thirst, iniury and wrong,  
For these shall he finde the rude courtiers among: 580  
And more after these, yet let him thinke agayne  
Whether in the court he may that thing obtayne  
Which he desireth, me thinke the contrary,  
Men would finde honour, there finde they misery.  
Thus all be fooles which willingly there dwell, 585  
Coridon the court is the bayting place of hell. A iij

---

Expendat prius seipsum, qui se dicare vult Regibus,  
an tolerare labores, famen perpeti, sitim sufferre, con-  
tumeliasque valeat sustinere. Deinde prospiciat dili-  
genter, vtrum ex Curia consequi possit, quod suus  
desiderat animus. Mihi & angustiae apud Principes in-  
finitae, ac intolerabiles esse videntur, & quae homines  
optant, illic nullatenus inueniri:

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

*Coridon*

That is hardly saide man, by the roode of rest.

*Cornix*

I graunt it is harde, but to say truth is best,  
But yet shall I proue my saying veritable,  
Aduert my wordes, see if I be culpable. 590  
Unto our purpose: by diuers wayes three  
Men may be fooles, I shall them count to thee:  
They all be fooles which set their thought and minde  
That thing for to seke which they shall neuer finde.  
And they be fooles which seke thing with delite, 595  
Which if they finde is harme and no profite.  
And he is a foole, a sotte,<sup>1</sup> and a geke<sup>2</sup> also,  
Which choseth a place vnto the same to go,  
And where diuers wayes lead thither directly  
He choseth the worst and most of ieopardie: 600  
As if diuers wayes laye vnto Islington,  
To Stow on the Wold, Quaueneth<sup>3</sup> or Trompington,<sup>4</sup>  
To Douer, Durham, to Barwike or Exeter,  
To Grantham, Totnes, Bristow or good Manchester<sup>5</sup>  
To Roan, Paris, to Lions or Floraunce. 605

*Coridon*

(What ho man abide, what already in Fraunce.  
Lo, a fayre iourney and shortly ended to,  
With all these townes what thing haue we to do?

---

quo fit, vt vera Patris sententiam arbitrer, de qua nunc  
transigemus.<sup>6</sup> . . . . .

Stulti, quoad propositum nostrum, tribus modis  
dicuntur homines. Stultus est, qui quæritat, quod  
nequit inuenire. Stultus & qui quærit, quod nocet  
inuentum. Stultus quoque & ille est, qui fine proposito,  
ad quem tendit, cum plures habeat calles, deteriorem  
deligit, & periculosiorem. Vt si Roman petiturus, cum  
duæ sibi pateant viæ; altera brevis atque segura; altera  
longior, plena latronibus; pergere vltimam velit.

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

*Cornix*

By God man know thou that I haue had to do  
In all these townes and yet in many mo, 610  
To see the worlde in youth me thought was best,  
And after in age to geue my selfe to rest.

*Coridon*

Thou might haue brought one and set by our village.

*Cornix*

What man I might not for lacke of cariage.  
To cary mine owne selfe was all that euer I might, 615  
And sometime for ease my sachell made I light.

*Coridon*

To our first matter we better must entende,  
Els in twelue monthes<sup>1</sup> we scant shall make an ende.

*Cornix*

True saide, Coridon, that can I not deny,<sup>2</sup>  
But thine owne selfe did leade me from the way. 620  
Unto these townes now to returne agayne),  
To any of them all if there lay wayes twayne,  
The one sure and short and leading directly,  
The other way longer and full of ieopardie,  
That foole were worth<sup>3</sup> a bable and a hood, 625  
Which would chose the worst, perceiuing wel the good.  
One of these follies or all oppresse that sorte  
Which not constrayned vnto the court resorte,<sup>4</sup>  
Eyther that they search which they may not attayne,  
Or that which gotten<sup>5</sup> shall do them hurt and payne, 630  
Or of two wayes they vse to leaue the best,  
For on no goodnes doth their desires rest.

*Coridon*

What is the desire and purpose principall,

---

Curiales igitur homines, aut primam stulticiam inci-  
dunt, aut alteram, aut tertiam. Aut enim quod assequi  
nequeunt inuestigant; aut quod inuentum detrimento  
sit, quærunt; aut semitam peiorem deligunt.<sup>6</sup> . . . . .

Mihi videntur omnes, qui Regum vel Principum

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Chiefly frequented among these Courtiers all,  
And for what rewarde take they suche busines. 635

*Cornix*

Of that coulde Codrus the truth to expresse,  
And I shall tell thee as true as the Gospell,  
After like maner as I heard Codrus tell.  
Who that remayne by king or princes side  
Endure great paynes fieve thinges to provide, 640  
Who that in court may one of them purchase  
Thinketh to haue wonne a pleasaunt gift of grace.  
The first is honour, I tolde thee of this same,  
The seconde is laude, hys name or worldly fame,  
The thirde is power might or auctoritie, 645  
The fourth is riches chiefe roote of dignitie,  
The fift is pleasour, lust and voluptuousnes,  
For these do men sue vnto the court doubtles.  
Beside these be some, but they be sown thin,  
Resorting to court there soules for to win, 650  
So muche more merit supposing to obtayne,  
Howe much more they bide of displeasour & payne,  
Of these all shall be my communication.

*Coridon*

Nowe speake on Cornix with Gods benison.

*Cornix*

All these shall I proue by playne experience 655  
Not onely witles and voyde of sapience,

---

latera stipant, aut HONORES quærere, Famamque  
seculi; aut POTENTIAM, aut DIVITIAS, aut  
VOLVPTATES; Nec inficias eo, nonnullos esse, qui  
se apud Principes LVCRARI ANIMAS arbitrentur,  
vt meritum tanto maius nanciscantur, quanto cum  
maiore periculo militauerint. De his igitur QVINQVE  
generibus Hominum, dicendum est nobis, quos tantū  
distare vt sapientes sint ostendemus, vt facile quiuis  
eosdem deliros, amentes, insanos ac stultissimos queat  
cognoscere.

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

But also fooles, men ignoraunt and wood,  
And of all fooles moste worthy of a hood.  
But or I begin I take thee to witnes,  
That no prince I blame deliting in goodnes: 660  
But onely to speake by protestation,  
To say nought but truth is no detractioun.  
Agaynst our soueraigne nothing do I reply,  
In whom all vertue doth spring abundantly:  
And other princes and lordes great or small, 665  
While they flee vices I blame none of them all.  
And though in talking often times<sup>1</sup> call I must  
Some princes subiect to folly, sinne, and lust,  
I would not haue that ascribed to them all.  
I am not so fonde, so dull nor rusticall, 670  
But that I perceyue that many princes be,  
Whose life and vertue is after their degree.  
With feare of God and dread of payne doubtles  
They slake those vices which riseth on nobles.  
And where ofte vices spring moste in hie degree, 675  
By men of riches, wealth, lust and libertie,  
Because that no man dare blame them for offence,  
Yet some noble men so gide them by prudence,  
Namely assisted by the supernall grace,  
So that wit ruleth and lustes haue no place. 680  
Among Gentiles suche princes fi[n]de\* I can,  
As Augustus, Titus, and eke Uespasian,

Prius tamen, quam hoc aggrediar, omnes oratos volo, ne me quempiam Principum carpere censeant, aut quouis pacto, serenissimo diuoque Principi meo, Frederico Cæsari, detrahere. Nam etsi dicturus inter disputandum fuerim, viciosos Principes esse, et libidinum ac stulticię, seruos; non tamen id omnibus ascripserim. Nec enim me latet, inueniri nonnullos, virtutum ac sanctionis cultores, qui à Principatu vicia, diuino quodam munere separent. Quemadmodum boni apud Gentiles Principes, Augustus, Vespasianus, Titus,

\* Cawood: fihde



*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Traian, Antonius with many other mo, -  
 And Christen princes many one also.  
 As rich Constantine and olde Archadius, 685  
 Theodocius, Charles, and Honorius,  
 Yea and holy Henry lying at Windesore,  
 Of such could I count mo then a twentie score.  
 Beside noble Henry which now departed late,  
 Spectacle of vertue to euery hye estate, 690  
 The patrone of peace and primate of prudence,<sup>1</sup>  
 Which on Gods Church hath done so great expence.  
 Of all these princes the mercy and pitie,  
 The loue of concorde, iustice and equitie,  
 The purenes of life and giftes liberall, 695  
 Not lesse vertuous<sup>2</sup> then the said princes all.  
 And Henry the eyght moste hye and triumphant,  
 No gifte of vertue nor manlines doth want,  
 Mine humble spech and language pastorall  
 If it were able should write his actes all: 700  
 But while I ought speake of courtly misery,  
 Him with all suche I except<sup>3</sup> vtterly.  
 But what other princes commonly frequent  
 As true as I can to shewe is mine intent,

Traianus, & Antoninus, pij sunt habiti: & apud  
 Christianos, Constantinus, Arcadius, Honorius, Theo-  
 dosius, Carolus Magnus, &, quem Bambergæ vene-  
 ratur, Henricus Sanctus: in quibus si vel pietatem,  
 vel mansuetudinem, vel pacis amorem, vel iusticiæ  
 Zelum, vel Religionis affectum requiris, Fridericum  
 nostrum nulla in re minorem inuenies. Tantum-  
 que abest, vt meis sibi scriptis velim detractum, vt  
 eius laudes illustrare, & versibus, quoad possim, &  
 oratione soluta, decreuerim. Nec me nunc eius Curia  
 detineret, nisi sua me bonitas allexisset. Sed me,  
 quanta sit Curialium infelicitas, ostensurum, non quid  
 ipse, & alij pauci, quos æquus amauit Iupiter, sed  
 quid communiter Principes agant, referre oportuit.

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

But if I should say that all the misery, 705

Which I shall after rehearse and specify,

Were<sup>1</sup> in the court of our moste noble kinge,

I should fayle truth, and playnly make leasing,

And if that I sayde that in it were no vice,

So should I lye, in<sup>2</sup> like maner wise. 710

As for my part, I blame no man at all,

Saue such as to vice be subiect, bounde and thrall.

For among all men this wise standeth the case,

That more ill then good doth growe in euery place.

*Coridon*

Right well excused, I thought not erst sithene,<sup>3</sup> 715

That simple Cornix had halfe this subtiltie.

But nowe appereth the very truth certayne,

That men of worship haue not best wit and brayne.

Nowe tell howe Courtiers which gape for honour,

In stede of honour finde paynes sharpe and sour. 720

*Cornix*

- All they which suffer in court labour and payne,

Thereby supposing true honour to obtayne,

It much abuseth,<sup>4</sup> my wordes nor doctrine

Be much vnable to geue them medicine.

For Elebor<sup>5</sup> the olde with all his salues pure 725

Quod si omnia, quæ inferius mala recensentur, in nostri Principis inueniri Curia dixerim, apertè mentiar; nec minus mentiar, si nihil illorum hîc esse contenderim. Necego quenquam momorderim: Quia sic est hominum vita, vt plus mali vbique quam boni reperiatur.

Nostra intentio est, fatuos esse, qui Principibus adhærent, disputando monstrare. Iam igitur illos aggrediamur, qui tanquam appetentes HONOREM Principibus seruiunt. Aduersus quos cum Iuuenali libet exclamare; O Medici mediam pertundite venam. Delirant enim, qui propter honorem Principibus famulantur: ad quorum purgandas mentes, non meis scriptis, sed elleboro potius esset opus.

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Their wilfull foly could scantly helpe and cure.  
What man would thinke that true honour profounde  
In princes halles or courtes may be founde.  
There none hath honour by vertue and cunning,  
By maners, wisdomes, sadnes nor good liuing. 730  
But who hath power, hye rowmes or riches,  
He hath moste honour and laude of more and lesse..  
For what poore man, a playne and simple soule,  
Though he were holy as euer was Saint Powle,  
Haste thou euer seene exalted of a king 735  
For all his maners and vertuous liuing.  
These be the wordes of Shepherde Siluius,<sup>1</sup>  
Which after was pope,<sup>2</sup> and called was Pius.

*Coridon*

What yes man perdie right many haue bene sene,  
Which in poore houses borne and brought vp haue bene 740  
That from lowe rowmes and carefull pouertie  
Be nowe exalted to greatest dignitie.

*Cornix*

Such is the pleasure of princes, to promote  
Such vnto honour, which scant be worth a grote.  
But whom promote they? geue credence vnto me, 745  
Such as in maners to them moste likest be,  
And in what maners? in beastly lechery,  
In couetise, ire, or in vile gluttony,

Quis enim in aulis Principum verum honorem dixerit  
inueniri? Dantur honores in Curijs, non secundum mores  
atque virtutes, sed vt quisque ditior est, atque potentior, eo  
magis honoratur. Nam quem vnquam pauperem, tametsi  
præstanti virtute præditum, Regum aliquis sublimauit?

Audio quod obijcis: fuerunt nonnulli, dicis, obscuro  
nati loco, atque inopes quōdam, qui nunc omnibus  
sunt prælati; Sic enim Principes voluerunt. Sed quos,  
oro, sic Prælatos ais? nempe quos suis moribus con-  
formes inuenerunt. quibus moribus? auariciæ, libi-  
dini, luxuriæ, crapulæ, crudelitati. Sic est sane.

## *The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

- In hastie murther and other crueltie: /  
 Beleue me Coridon, I say but veritie: 750
- A couetous prince hath him moste acceptable,  
 Which gathereth coyne by meanes disceyuable:  
 As false accusing, and wrong extortion, /  
 Selling of Iustice, fraude and oppression, /  
 A lecherous prince hath him best in conceyte, 755  
 Which can by craftes his place and time best wayt,<sup>1</sup>  
 Uirgins and wiues moste fayre and amiable /  
 To bring to his bed for lust abhominable. /  
 And a dronken prince hath him as derest mate, /  
 Which moste can surfet, moste reuell and drinke late. 760  
 And vnto a prince which loueth crueltie, /  
 Chiefely in fauour and conceyte is he,  
 Which moste deliteth in sheding mans bloud, /  
 Fewe vicious princes promote such as be good.
- Nowe is accepted of men of hye degree, 765  
 Nor set in honour from humble pouertie.  
 Except he done<sup>2</sup> some dede so great of fame,  
 That all the world may wonder at the same. /  
 But this same honour is neither true nor stable,  
 Which groweth of roote so ill and detestable. 770  
 For very honour, and true or perfect glory  
 • Commeth of actes of laudable memory:  
 In supportation of right and equitie,  
 Or in defending the Church and commontie.

---

Placet auaro Regi, qui pecunias vndecunque refert.  
 Gratus est libidinoso, qui virgines atque maritatas sibi  
 conciliat. Carus est ebrio, qui combibit. Crudeli iocun-  
 dus est, qui sanguinem quam multum effundit humanum.  
 Nemo acceptus est, nemoque ex paruo statu præfertur  
 alijs, nisi magno aliquo facinore sese Principi concilia-  
 uerit. At hic non est verus honor & stabilis, qui ex  
 radice venit non bona. Vera gloria, vt inquit Cicero, est  
 illustris ac puagata multorum & magnorum, vel in suos

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Or other actes common or priuate 775  
Which sound to worship, these make a true estate.  
But such true honour fewe princes do deserue,  
And no more do they which in the court them serue:  
Sith all almoste be of misgouernaunce,  
For no good do they except it be by chaunce. 780

*Coridon*

Yet at the least way such men reputed be<sup>1</sup>  
Men of great honour amonge the commontie:  
For while such walke in court or in strete,  
Eche man inclineth which them doth see or mete.  
Off goeth the bonet, a becke at euery worde, 785  
Eche man must needes geue place vnto my Lorde.  
After his degree, birth or promotion,  
Suche of the commons haue salutation.  
And shortly to say, men do them more honour,  
Then to the figure of Christ our Sauour. 790

*Cornix*

It is as thou sayest forsooth my Coridon,  
But harke what they say at last when men be gone,  
Then they salute them in the deuils name,  
And pray vnto God that they may dye with shame.  
And so doth many by torment and dolour 795  
When fikle fortune liketh on them to loure.  
But such as do stoupe to them before their face  
Geueth them a mocke when they be out of place:  
And one doth whisper soft in anothers<sup>2</sup> eare,  
And sayth, this tiran is feller then a bere. 800

---

ciues, vel in patriam, vel in omne genus hominum, fama  
meritorum; quam nec Principes assequuntur, nec qui  
seruiunt eis: Cum vicijs omnes fere sint dediti, nec  
bonum aliquid agant, nisi fortuito.

At transeunti per vrbem tibi inclinabunt homines:  
denudabunt capita: cedent loco: salutem dicent: manus  
osculabuntur. Ita est certe.

## *The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

*Coridon*

Why, and feare they no more for to say thus?

*Cornix*

No, but harke man what sayth the good pope Siluius<sup>1</sup>

Lo, this same is he which by his bad ccuncell

Causeth our prince to be to vs to fell.

- This same is he which rayseth deme<sup>2</sup> and taxe,<sup>3</sup> ✓ 805

This same is he which strayned men on racks. ✓

This same is he which causeth all this warre, ✓

This same is he which all our wealth doth marre. ✓

This is of Commons the very deadly mall,<sup>4</sup> ✓

Which with these charges thus doth oppresse vs all. 810

Who him displeaseth he beateth all to dust, ✓

This same is he which killeth whom him lust, ✓

That all the deuils of hell him hence cary,

That we no longer endure his tyranny.

This is the honour and all the reuerence ✓ 815

Geuen vnto them when they be from presence.

But in such honour who euer hath delite,

Which is fraudfull, so faynt and vnperfite.

I am not afeard to call him mad and blinde,

And a very foole, or els a sot of kinde. 820

*Coridon*

Cornix my frende, thou speakest nowe to playne,<sup>5</sup>

I feare least this gere<sup>6</sup> shall turne vs vnto payne

At vbi transieris, digitos retrotendent, subsannabunt-  
que tibi. Et ille est, inquiet, qui Principem nostrum  
seducit; qui bellum suadet; qui vectigalia auget, qui  
onera nobis importabilia cumulari facit; & etiam, qui  
verso pollice, quos vult, ex nobis occidit: quem Dij  
Deæque omnes perdant, ne sub eius tyrannide diutius  
simus.

Huiusmodi est honor Curialium, qui si te, quis-  
quis es, oblectat, non verebor te stultum atque insanum  
affirmare, qui oblectationes tuas in re fallaci, varia, atque  
omnino falsa, reponas.

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

If any man be nere, be still a while and harke.

*Cornix*

I feare not at all nowe I am set on warke:

Beside this (Coridon) in court moste part doth dwell - 825

Flatterers and lyers, curriers of fafell,<sup>1</sup>

Iugglers and disers, and such a shamefull rable ✓

Which for a dinner laude men nothing laudable. ✓

But men circumspect which be discrete and wise, ✓

Doth such vayne laudes vtterly despise. A iiij 830

For truely no laude is named good nor true,

Except it proceede of men which loue vertue.

A ribaudes blame is commendation,

Such vse to slaunder good conuersation.

But suche they commende as be to them semblable, 835

So their dispraysing to thee is profitable.

*Coridon*

Nowe truely my heart is eased with the same,

For Godfrey Gormand lately did me blame.

And as for him selfe, though he be gay and stoute, 840

He hath nought but foly within and eke without.

To blowe in a bowle, and for to pill<sup>2</sup> a platter,

To girne,<sup>3</sup> to braule, to counterfayte, to flatter,

He hath no felowe betwene this and Croydon,  
Saue the proude plowman (Gnato) of Chorlington.<sup>4</sup>

Because he alway maligneth against me, 845

It playne appereth our life doth not agree.

For if we liued both after one rate,

Then should I haue him to me a frendly mate.

But Cornix proceede, tell forth of dignitie.

*Cornix*

Often in my tale I hindred am by thee. 850

Ac Parasitorum vocibus, qui te cœnarum gratia  
laudant, quantum tribui debeat, tu ipse nosti. Prætereo  
histriones atque ioculatores, & totius vulgi laudes, quas  
vir prudens pro nihilo reputabit: quia nulla est vera laus,  
nisi à verè proueniat laudatis.

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Such as for honour vnto the court resort,  
Looke seldome times vpon the lower sort:  
To the hyer sort for moste part they intende,  
For still their desire is hyer to ascende. ✓  
And when none can make with them comparison, 855  
Against their princes conspire they by treason. ✓  
Then when their purpose can not come well to frame,  
Agayne they discende and that with vtter shame.  
Coridon thou knowest right well what I meane,  
We lately of this experience haue seene. 860  
When men would ascende to rowmes honorable,  
Euer is their minde and lust insaciabile.  
What euer they haue, they count the same but small,  
While ought is greater, nought can them please but all.  
And once in Cambridge I heard a scoller say, 865  
(One of the same which go in copes<sup>1</sup> gay)  
That no man should fixe ende of felicitie ✓  
In worldly honour, hye rowme<sup>2</sup> or dignitie: ✓  
For it is a thing incertayne and vnstable, ✓  
Which man of him selfe to puruay is not able. ✓ 870  
In another power this honour alway is, ✓  
Who moste it seeketh, of it doth often misse. ✓  
And who that serueth for honour and hye name, ✓

---

Adde quod omnes Curiæ sequaces, non quibus  
præsint, sed à quibus præcedantur inspiciunt, & altius  
semper euolare nituntur. atque cum reliqui præces-  
serint, ipsis etiam Regibus incipiunt inuidere, quia  
inexplebilis est humanæ gloriæ appetitus. Cui post-  
quam te dedideris, semper illud Ciceronis in ore habe-  
bis: Quicquid est, quamuis amplum sit, id certe parum  
est, cum est aliquid amplius.

Est insuper Philosophorum sententia, ac præsertim  
Aristotelis; In honoribus non esse finem ponendum,  
quia & res incerta est, & in potestate alterius. Et qui  
seruit honori, & huius seculi famæ, necesse est, vt  
multa faciat inuitus:



*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

And in this world to get him noble fame,  
Much payne abideth through cares and distresse. 875  
And with many men he hath much busynes:  
And oft must he rather the minde of men content,  
Then do the pleasure of God omnipotent.  
Then sith two honours of diuers sortes be,  
One which is geuen of men of honestie. 880  
The second honoure is of a multitude:  
For very truth that man of wit is rude,  
Which hunteth in court for the first honour,  
The same to purchase by care and great labour.  
As fortune honour no man can there obtayne, 885  
Where neyther maners nor vertues do rayne.  
The seconde honour is of commontie,  
Who that requireth, yet more foolishe is he.  
For he demaundeth a thing right perillous,  
Unsure, vnstable and also vicious, 890  
But both these sortes alway be vexed sore,  
When they in honour see many them before,  
And often times suche as moste vnworthy be.  
For in court seldome is lauded honestie.  
Thus who of honour and laude is couetous, 895  
Unto him the court is moste contrarious.  
And no where he findeth greater vexation,  
Then folowing the court, suing ambition.  
For who would ascende to honour principall,

Interdum plus hominibus, quam Deo, seruire cogitur.  
Duo enim cum sint honores; alter virorum bonorum;  
alter multitudinis; stultus est qui primum apud Regem  
venatur; quia inueniri verus honor non potest, vbi  
virtutes non regnant. Qui verò alterum, multò stultior  
est; quia & rem perniciosam sequitur & viciosam, &  
instabilem, & incertam. Atque hi quidem perpetuis  
cruciatibus affliguntur, cum sibi præferri plurimos, &  
sæpe indignissimos videant. Nec, qui bonorum est  
avidus,

## *The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Findeth in the court moste care and payne of all. 900

### *Coridon*

We haue ynough had of communication  
As touching honour and commendation,  
Or worldly praysing for rowmes and hye name:  
And though more might be declared of the same.  
What leaue some my mate for other on to brall, 905  
It were ouermuch for vs to talke of all.

Nowe talke we of might or hye auctoritie;  
Howe men for the same loue in the court to be..  
Speede thee, for cloudes appere on euery side,  
If any storme fall' we can not longer abide. 910

### *Cornix*

As touching power, might or auctoritie:  
Some thinke in the court in fauour great to be.<sup>2</sup>✓  
To be with princes of power excellent, ✓  
Some fooles counteth a thing preminent. ✓  
Or that men should him a kinges tutour call, ✓ 915  
Much to commaund, but nought to do at all. ✓  
Both peace and battayle to order at his will,  
To be of power both to do good and ill. ✓  
But many a thousande which haue such power sought,  
Haue bene disceyued, and shortly come to nought. ✓ 920  
As with one Nero named [C]laudus,<sup>\*3</sup>✓  
In so great fauour was one Seianus,

---

vsquam magis, quam in Curijs, angitur. Atque iam  
satis de Honore sit dictum.

Nunc ad POTENTIAM eamus. Pulchrum videtur  
apud Principem esse potentem, tutorem vocari Regis,  
præcipere alijs, bellum indicare, pacem componere,  
posse obesse & prodesse quampluribus. Sed multi  
decepti sunt, dum posse apud Reges plurimum quæ-  
siuerunt. Apud Tiberium, Neronem, Claudium, tam  
potens Seianus fuit vt Imperatore apud Capreas cum

\* Cawood: 'Elaudus.'

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

That while this Nero was farre from his empire,  
Seianus ruled the same at his desire,  
So much that Seian had honour then in deede, 925  
As of all the worlde counted the seconde head.  
That if this Nero had died or his<sup>t</sup> houre,  
This Seian truely should haue bene emperour.  
But by one letter he after taken was,  
In vtter dishonour deposed from his place. 930  
Led for a spectacle streyght vnto Tiber banke,  
And there beheded, such was his mede and thanke.  
All his ymages in his honour erect  
Were with great malice downe to the grounde deiect.  
Thus all his power ended with care and shame, 935  
Who that hath wisdomē will note and marke the same.  
It is no matter nor thing of certayntie  
With mighty princes of great power to be.  
No state is febler, more weake and incertayne  
Then such as semeth great with his souerayne. 940  
He hath enuious maligners and ill will,  
All out of fauour adiudgeth him for ill.  
And all the housholde doth commonly him hate,  
Which with the master is seruaunt and nere mate.  
And this in the world is seene moste commonly, 945  
That all hie rowmes be subiect to enuy.  
Such of all other be hated and suspect,  
If they ought offende, it lightly is detect.  
And from all defence<sup>2</sup> if they be clere and quite,

---

Rege Chaldeo sedente, solus hic Imperium administraret,  
secundumque illum, totius orbis caput veneraretur, Et  
quippe si ante ipsum oppressa Cæsaris senectus fuisset,  
hunc vnum populus Augustum vocasset.

Sed nulla est apud Principes diuturna potestas; nul-  
liusque status debilior, nullius incertior, nullius in-  
firmior est, quam eius, qui apud Principem videtur esse  
potentior. Sunt æmuli multi; simultates, odia. Omnis  
potentia magnæ inuidiæ subiecta est.

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Then lye they in wayte them sharply<sup>1</sup> to bacbite. 950  
Some for them study fraudes, disceyte and gile,  
And talebearers walke and greue them otherwhile.  
And like as thine eye is griued with a mote,  
So princes fauour (though it be neuer so hote)  
Is lightly griued, and that for small offence, 955  
Though it were gotten with paynefull diligence.  
And oft is it lost for none offence at all,  
So much with princes may tonges false make fall.  
So much talebearers by craftes forge can,  
That the Emperour called Adrian 960  
Slewe his olde frendes, and hated many one  
By these talebearers and false detraction.  
And many Princes or this haue done the same  
By hasty credence, distayning sore their name.  
And as in Croidon I heard the Collier<sup>2</sup> preache, 965  
That holy scripture doth vs infourme and teache,  
Howe Saule, Dauid, and prudent Salomon  
Commaunded to be slayne of such many one,  
As hath bene with them in great authoritie.

---

Incidunt suspiciones, parantur insidiæ, perstrepunt  
vndique delatores. Atque vt oculus parua festuca  
turbatur, sic Principum gratia offensiuncula vel minima  
cadit: Interdum etiam nullo crimine perditur. Tantum  
apud Principes subdola lingua potest.

Apud Adrianum Imperatorem, delatorum voces adeo  
valuerunt, vt amicos, quos ad summum prouexerat, post  
hostium loco habuerit. Sed ad Seianum redeo. Visne  
salutari sicut Seianus? & tam esse potens, vt ille fuit?  
At hic vnica Principis Epistola captus est, per vrbem  
vnco ductus ad spectaculum, & in Tibridis ripa trunca-  
tus: Omnesque ipsius statuæ ex Capitolio deiectæ sunt.

Pellege sacras literas. Quot Saul? Quot Dauid?  
Quot Salomon ex his, qui apud se potentes erant, occidi  
iusserunt?

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

And dayly of such may we example see.' 970  
 Because Isaac in might did rise and stande,  
 False Abimelech him droue out of his lande.  
 And Alexander with his owne handes' slewe  
 Citron his frende, which he did after rewe.  
 Because he compared vnto this conquerour 975  
 His father Philippus, laudes and honour.  
 And such like chaunce but lately did befall  
 In the lande of Apuly to the great Senescall:  
 Which was so greatly in fauour with the Quene,  
 That none was so great as he him selfe did wene. 980  
 And thought in fauour to bide more stedfastly,  
 For he abused the Queene dishonestly.  
 But to another the Queene turned her loue,  
 And then him mured his presence to remoue.  
 And when she had founde the meanes him to kill, 985  
 Then had she diuers louers at her will.

*Coridon*

O cursed woman, and deede of crueltie.

*Cornix*

Yea yea Coridon, mo be as bad as she,

Abimelech, quia potentem vidit apud se Isaac, ex regno repulit: forsitan & interfici iussisset, nisi digitus Dei cum illo fuisset.

Clitonem, suæ nutricis filium, quia Philippi patris laudes comparare voluisset, Alexander Macedo sua manu interemit. Extant nostri temporis admodum multa exempla, quæ consulto fugio, ne cui videar detraxisse.

De magno regni Apuliæ Senescallo, nemo me dicere prohibet: quia tuta est in mortuos reprehensio. Hic apud Reginam Ioannam primo in loco fuit; potentiamque suam firmiorem putabat, quia & stupris sese insinuauerat. At Regina conuerso in alium amore, percussores ad illum noctu transmisit: quo mortuo alios sibi concubinos substituit.

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Some haue by malice their sucking children slayne.  
 But to my matter will I retourne agayne. 990  
 Their fraude and malice I will not nowe declare,  
 Who with them dealeth perceyueth what is care.  
 But nowe (Coridon) to princes to returne,  
 Who pleaseth this day is out agayne the morne.  
 Right fewe or none are<sup>1</sup> by a Princes side 995  
 -Which doth in fauour continually abide/  
 While one ascendeth, another doth discende,  
 This is the thing whereto they moste intende.  
 And which in court men chiefly go about,  
 Them selues to bring in, and rub another out. 1000  
 And then to climbe vp to office and renowme,  
 And while they ascende to thrust another downe.  
 Eche one desireth his felowe to excell,  
 - There is none order, no more then is in hell.  
 No loue, no fauour, fayth nor fidelitie, 1005  
 One brother can not sure for another be.  
 The sonne for<sup>2</sup> the father hath no compassion,  
 And like pitie hath the father of his sonne.  
 Eche man for him selfe, and the frende for all,  
 Eche one desireth to be the<sup>3</sup> principall. 1010  
 Eche one will commaunde and haue preeminence,  
 And if any one haue place of excellence,  
 He hath about him a thousande eyne and nine,  
 And as many tonges to put<sup>4</sup> him to ruine.

---

Pauci sunt, qui apud Reges perpetuo sint potentes.  
 Sæpe qui heri placuit, hodie displicet. Nullum est in  
 atrijs Principum maius studium, quam vt alios de gradu  
 præcipitent, & se erigant. Potentiam quilibet appetit:  
 nulla inter Curiales habitat fides: non frater à fratre  
 tutus inuenitur, nec patri filius fidus est, nec filius  
 Patrem seruat: quilibet sibi studet: omnes præferri  
 volunt, omnes mandare.

Si quis potens est, mille circa se oculos habet, &  
 totidem linguas, ad ruinam eius aspirantes;

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

On euery side enuyers him awayte, ✓ 1015  
Deuising meanes to bring<sup>1</sup> him from his state.  
A man of power which many men may deare  
Hath euer ill will,<sup>2</sup> thus may he many feare.  
Hye towres decay builded by flouds side,  
Which doth the waues continually abide. 1020  
What shall a shepherde do in the court to tende,  
Whose life and seruice on one man<sup>3</sup> doth depende.  
Though thou in fauour be with a princes<sup>4</sup> or king,  
Yet trust not therein, it is vncertayne thing.  
Thou haste him not bounde to thee with chayns strong 1025  
Of lead or yron to last and tary long.  
But with feble waxe suche bande can not last,  
When loue waxeth colde, then shall the linkes brast.  
The feruour<sup>5</sup> of wrath shall them consume and melt,  
Then is thy fauour scant worth a shepes pelt. 1030

*Coridon*

Of some haue I heard of men of great honour,  
Which haue in the court bid alway in fauour.  
Till time their princes departed from this life,  
And then with the newe had like prerogatif.  
Thus in the court nothing so variable 1035  
As thou rehearsest, nor yet so reprobable.

*Cornix*

I graunt thee Coridon, some such haue there bene,  
But that is a birde which seldome time is sene.  
That is but fortune, and chaunce not on to trust,

---

& vnus hinc, alius illinc premit. Nimum multos timere  
habet, qui multum potest: & illum omnes oppugnant,  
qui Principi gravior existimatur. Ruunt turre, quæ iuxta  
flumen sitæ, perpetuum in se aquæ cursum recipiunt.  
Quid tu facias, qui ex vnus voluntate dependes? in  
cuius amore nec ferro, nec plumbo, sed cera fixus  
teneris: quam vel infrigidatus amor excutiet, vel iræ  
feruor eliquabit.

Non omnibus tantum arridet Fortuna (vti vides)

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

But many be throwen vnwarely to the dust. 1040  
Some while their princes still liued in renowme,  
But when they depart, all turneth vp set downe.  
Then if some haue fauour with princes successours,  
We see them seldome set in so hye honours,  
As with their elders they did before obtayne, 1045  
A man soone falleth, and slowe is vp agayne.  
So many we see<sup>t</sup> deposed from degree:  
And howe much the more they were in dignitie,  
So much more after be they vile and abiect,  
Their auncient name counted of none effect. 1050  
Then they perceyue who was their frende and fo,  
Before in honour forsooth they could not so.  
To men of power some often stoupe and becke,  
Which gladly would see their heades from the<sup>2</sup> necke.  
When they by fortune are on the grounde agayne, 1055  
Then laugh their foes and haue at them disdayne.  
Their frendes dolour and sorowe is not small,  
Their owne disworship a shame is worst of all.  
For after they liue still in dolour and distresse,  
In shame, rebukes, in care and heauynes. 1060  
This is the common ende and sure conclusion  
Of such as with princes serue for promotion,  
Wherefore I dare call them fooles before thee,

quantum Cancellario nostri Cæsaris, Caspari Schlick,<sup>3</sup>  
quem vel miranda fati clementia, vel singularis virtus  
atque prestantia (que in paucissimis hominibus reperi-  
tur) apud tres Cæsares inter primores potentem reddidit.  
Alios vero vix vnquam vidimus in Curia Successoris  
tales esse, quales apud Antecessorem fuere. Sed præci-  
pitari complurimos ex gradu cernimus; ita vt quanto  
prius honoratiores, & potentiores censebantur, tanto  
exinde debiliores, & inhonoratiores fiant, & sint inimi-  
cis gaudic; Amicis vero & propinquis, & sibi, dolori,  
molestiæ, atque dedecori. Est autem vulgatissimus  
eorum finis, qui apud Principes vel Honorem vel Poten-



*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Which serue in the court for might or dignitie.

*Coridon*

Forsooth mate Cornix, I can not well denye, 1065

But that such chaunces do happen commonly.

Then better is small fire one easily to warme,

Then is a great fire to do one hurt or harme.

I am assured, as for thy selfe and me,

We nede not to feare to fall from our degree. 1070

Beggery is lowest, who that can fare withall

Needeth not to feare to lower state to fall.

But haue done Cornix, and tell the wretchednes

Of such as in court serue onely for riches.

As for the other, the best that we do may 1075

Is, to differre it vntill another day.

*Cornix*

Well sayde Coridon, I am content with that,

But first let me drinke, I shall the better chat.

This whey is soure, but vse easeth the payne,

Drinke Coridon, and stop it vp agayne. 1080

*Coridon*

Nowe say on Cornix, thy talking liketh me,

I see that counsell excludeth capacitie.

Saue for thy wisdome or this time as I wene,

With courtly misery I tangled should haue bene.

But well fare counsell when it is true and good, 1085

I would that Minalcas this also vnderstoode.

*Cornix*

Many of the court resort dayly doubtlesse,

In youth to gather some treasure or riches,

Then against age they may go out agayne,

And afterwarde liue without labour or payne. 1090

---

tiam quæritant: quos in errore tam manifesto comprehensos, stultissimos esse nemo negauerit. Nec plura de Potentia.

Nunc DIVITIAS prosequamur, quas minime dubium est complures mortales in curiales carceres attraxisse;

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

In hope of this ease and latter libertie,  
Many in the court bide longe captiuitie.  
And if some courtier thus to him selfe doth say,  
Alas shall I neuer ought for my selfe puruey. A v  
When shall I in court some litle banke procure,<sup>1</sup> 1095  
That from the bagge and staffe mine age may be sure.  
The foole thinketh then moste riches for to haue  
Against such season when nerest is his graue.  
When nere is ended his iourney of this life,  
Then is he for vitayle moste busy and pensife. 1100  
Our Sauour sayth: It is as harde doubtles,  
To one which fixeth his pleasure on riches  
To enter that royalme which is aboue the skye,  
As as asse to enter through a needels eye.  
I heard our Uicar say in like maner wise 1105  
Once when he preached against couetise:  
Then it is folý great riches to purchase,  
And by it to lose the hope of heauenly place.  
Is not Christ able his poore men to sustayne,  
Yes, and to rid them out of all other payne. 1110  
The poore Apostles be greater nowe of fame  
Then riche Cresus, for all his royall name.  
When man hath in God his trust and confidence,

---

qui cum Oratio se laborem ferre dicunt senes, vt in ocia  
tuta recedant. Quidam vero Iuuenalis referunt verba:

*Quando ego figam aliquid, quo sit mihi tuta senectus,  
A tegete et baculo.* (Sat. 9).

Aduersus quos possum Saluatoris nostri sermonem  
referre, qui tam difficile dicit, diuitem intrare regna  
cœlorum, quam per foramen acus transire Camelum.  
Quo fit, vt stultum sit Diuitias quærere, & spem  
patriæ coelestis amittere.

Nec mihi quisquam timorem famis adducat, quasi  
non habeat Christus, vnde alat pauperes suos. Apos-  
toli nauim & retia reliquerunt, inquit Hieronymus: nec

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

In all time of neede he fayleth none expence.  
All good men fixe their trust in God pardie,<sup>1</sup> 1115  
He knoweth better what thing we neede then we.  
Of some poore freers is made more curiously,  
Then is some Abbey or riche monastery.  
The first hath their trust in God our Creatour,  
The other trusteth vpon their vayne treasour. 1120  
Thus God oft helpeth them that in him haue trust,  
When worldly riches men leaueth in the dust.

*Coridon*

Cornix, thy promise was not to preache,  
But me of the courtiers misery to teache.  
Against thine owne selfe thou speakest nowe perdie, 1125  
For first thou grutched<sup>2</sup> against pouertie.  
Agayne, thou blamest plentie of riches nowe,  
But fewe men liuing thy saying will alowe.  
For without riches, thou sayest openly  
Uertue nor cunning nowe be nothing set by. 1130

*Cornix*

I will not denye, but it is neede doubtles  
For all men liuing for to haue some riches,  
But trust me Coridon, there is diuersitie  
Betwene to haue riches, and riches to haue thee.  
Then thou hast riches when thou despisest store, 1135  
Bestowest<sup>3</sup> it well, and forcest<sup>4</sup> not therefore.  
But riches haue thee when wretched couetise

---

tamen illis quicquam defuit. Libertas Christi Pauperum  
& olera, Cræsi diuitijs præferuntur. Sed ista fortasse  
nimium religiose dicuntur, nec talia sunt, quæ vulgo  
probari queant.

Agamus igitur, pingui Minerua, consentiamusque  
Iuuenali, & Aristoteli, ad Felicem vitam opus esse  
diuitijs: quia

*Non facile emergunt quorum virtutibus obstat  
Res angusta domi.*

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Thy minde subdueth to euery ill and vice.  
And when thy desire is yet insaciabie  
Though thou haue treasure almoste innumerable. 1140  
Such maner riches (the Collyer tell thee can)  
Is vile and odible both vnto God and man.  
But nowe to the court for to returne agayne,  
Some thinke by princes great riches to obtayne.  
But while they couete inriched for to be, 1145  
Coridon, forsooth they lese their libertie.  
And yet if I should the very truth expres,  
No man can in court finde iust and true riches.  
If thy lorde geue thee eyther golde or fee,  
Unto his seruice more art thou bounde perdie. 1150  
Saint Gregory sayth, affirming the same thing,  
In greatest giftes is greatest reckening.  
But if thou wilt then forth of the court depart,  
When by thy prince inriched thus thou art.  
Then shall be founde some gile,<sup>2</sup> some fraude or trayne,<sup>3</sup> 1155  
By meane wherof thou lesest all agayne.  
A fault shall be founde, some one shall thee accuse  
Of thing wherof thou did neuer thinke nor muse.  
Though thou be giltlesse, yet shalt thou be conuict,  
Fare well, thy good all shall be from thee lickt, 1160  
Or some backe reckening concerning thine office.  
Of all thy riches shall pill thee with a trice.

Sunt, qui se posse putant diuitias cumulare Principibus seruientes. At hi, vt diuitias comparent, libertatem vendunt, nec tamen diuitias assequuntur. Nam si tibi Princeps vel beneficia contulit, vel Feuda concessit, vel res alias; tanto magis seruire teneris, quanto maiora sunt dona. Quod si aliunde nescis, ex Gregorio discito; Cum enim, inquit ille, augentur dona, rationes etiam crescunt donorum.

Quod si tunc ex Curia velis abire, cum diues es factus, mox omnia perdidisti. Inuenitur caussa, submittitur accusator; conuinceris reus, etiam non com-

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Then art thou clapped in the Flete or Clinke,  
Then nought must thou say, whatsoeuer thou thinke.  
For if thou begin to murmure or complayne, 1165  
Thy life thou lesest, then haste thou harmes twayne.

*Coridon*

Yet were it better for to continue still  
As long in the court as is the princes will.

*Cornix*

If thou continue, thou must be diligent  
And ready at hande at eche commaundement, 1170  
When he commaundeth, thou must be prest to fight  
To ride and to go by day and eke by night.  
No dreade, no daunger may helpe thee nor excuse,  
No payne nor perill mayst thou flee or refuse.  
Sometime must thou be in ayre contagious, 1175  
And in thousandes other of chaunces perillous.  
What he commaundeth, that nedes do thou must,  
Be it good or ill, rightwise or uniuist.  
Laugh when he laugheth, all if thine heart be sad,  
Wepe when he wepeth, be thou neuer so glad. 1180  
Laude what he laudeth, though it be not laudable,  
Blame what he blameth, though it be commendable.  
And shortly to speake, thou must all thing fulfill  
As is his pleasure, and nothing at thy will.  
None of thy wittes are at thy libertie, 1185  
Unto thy master they needes must agree.  
What is more foolishe, more fonde or imprudent

---

missi criminis; auferuntur bona, & ne conqueri vnquam possis, eripitur & vita.

Si vero in Curia perseueraueris, oportet ad queis imperia Regis esse paratum, Ire in bellum, per latrones transire, nauigare in mari, manere in peste, mille capitis adire pericula. Iustum & iniustum exequi mandatum; ridere & flere cum Rege; laudare quem laudat, vituperare quem vituperat:

## *The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Then to get riches by such extreme torment.  
 For nought it is els but playne a phrensey  
 To bide for riches this care and misery. 1190  
 It would make one clawe where as it doth not itche<sup>r</sup>  
 To see one liue poore because he would dye riche.  
 Because one in court hath gotten good, or twayne,  
 Should all men suppose the same there to obtayne?  
 And in hope thereof to lose their libertie, 1195  
 But seeking riches, such findeth pouertie.  
 For many in court while they abide riches,  
 Spende all their treasure and liue in wretchednes,  
 What saith some foole, spende on a bone viage,  
 Perchaunce my wages shall passe mine heritage. 1200  
 But while he spendeth till scant remayne a grote,  
 Home he retourneth, yea, with a threede bare coate.  
 His horse is so fat, that playne he is not able  
 To get his body nor head out of the stable.  
 His sworde and buckler is pledged at the bere, 1205  
 And to go lighter, so is his other gere.  
 The rider walketh now with his bowe and arowes,  
 With a fayre excuse (in hedges to kill sparowes).

---

Nulla tibi in verbis aut in operibus, libertas supererit.  
 Quid igitur stultius est, quam diuitias per tot tormenta cogere? cum sit manifesta phrenesis, teste Satyr-  
 rico:

*Vt locuples moriaris egenti viuere fato. (Juv. Sat. 14)*

Nonne præterea deliramentum est, cum duo vel tres  
 cumulauerint opes, omnes huius liberalitatis munificen-  
 tiam expectare, & non potius infinitos respicere qui dum  
 Regibus seruiunt, ad extremam inopiam sunt deducti.

*Iam dabitur* (inquit Persius) *iam iam, donec, deceptus &*  
*expes,*  
*Nequicquam fundo suspiret nummus in imo. (Persius Sat. 2)*

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

And oft returning he sayde, but all to late.  
Aduē all courting in the deuils date. 1210

*Coridon*

A syr, this passeth nowe by the rode of some,<sup>1</sup>  
Better were for suche to haue bid<sup>2</sup> at home.  
But tell me Cornix, hath all men the bondage  
And payne of the court for no more aduauntage.

*Cornix*

Yes, sometime riches is geuen by some chaunce 1215  
To such as of good haue greatest aboundaunce.  
Likewise as streames vnto the sea do glide,  
But on bare hilles no water will abide:  
So if a poore man serue in the court longe while,  
Fortune shall neuer so frendly on him smile, 1220  
But that a riche man in rowme or hye dignitie  
For a litle seruice hath more rewarde then he.  
As for the seruice, none in the court shall ponder,  
They note the person, still is the poore kept vnder.  
For a litle man mete is a small hakney, 1225  
So smallest persons haue small rewarde alway.  
But men of worship set in auctoritie  
Must haue rewardes great after their degree.  
And (Coridon) princes geue nought I tell thee playne,  
But when that they lust reuoke agayne. 1230  
And so such thinges which princes to thee geue,  
To thee be as sure as water in a siue.  
Thou mayest not of them make alienation,

---

Diuitibus nonnunquam dari solent diuitiæ, sicut in  
mare feruntur aquæ. Nemo pauper, quamuis diu &  
admodum vtiliter seruiuerit, tantum præmij reportabit,  
quantum diues ex obsequio paruo. Non enim seruitia  
in Curijs Principum, sed personæ ponderantur. Nam  
& *Paruos parua decent, & magnos munera magna.*

Nec donare Reges solent, quod nequeant, cum libido  
fuerit, auferre. Itaque nec rem donatam, si velis, alienare  
poteris,

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Nor the same carye vnto another nation.  
Thou mayest not dispose them after thine intent, 1235  
But like as thy prince is pleased and content.  
Then such vayne riches can be thine by no skill,  
Sith thou haste no might to spende them at thy will.  
Yea, and moreouer thou haste no facultie  
The same to bequeath at will when thou must dye. 1240  
If thou want issue, no man shall be thine heyre  
Saue onely the prince, thus doth the world fare.  
If thou haue issue, succede shall they not thee,  
Except with thy prince they will in seruice be.  
How many haue be slayne me needeth not expresse 1245  
Of such as them erst auaunced to riches.  
So princes are wont with riches some to fede,  
As we do our swine when we of larde haue nede.,  
We fede our hogges them after to deuour,  
When they be fatted by costes and labour. 1250  
In like wise princes promoteth many one,  
And when they be riche, they gnaw them to the bone.  
Like as Longinus and Seneca doubtlesse,  
Which as sayth Codrus were slayne for their riches,  
So writeth Pius (whom some Eneas call) 1255  
A clause alleaging of famous Iuuenall.

---

nec in aliud regnum transferre: nec ex ea quicquam dis-  
ponere, quod Regi non placeat. Non sunt igitur tuæ  
huiusmodi diuitiæ, quibus non potes vti pro arbitrio.

Quid, quod neque testandi facultatem habebis.  
Namque si liberis careas, nemo tibi non Princeps erit  
hæres. Si adsunt filij, nisi & ipsi Principi seruiant, non  
succedent tibi. Taceo, quot diuites necati iussu eorum  
sint, qui eos ditauerant. Solent enim Principes sic non-  
nullis largiri multa, sicut & nos sues pascimus, vt eos,  
postquam impinguati fuerint deuoremus. Sic de Seneca,  
Longinoque legimus, quos propter diuitias interemtos  
Iuuenalis affirmat, his versibus:

*Temporibus diris igitur, iussuque Neronis,*



*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

*Coridon*

The more of the court that thou doest count and tell,  
The lesse me liketh with it to deale or mell.

*Cornix*

What bide Coridon, yet haste thou not heard all,  
The Court is in earth an ymage infernall, 1260  
Without fayre paynted, within vggly and vile,  
This know they surely which there hath bene a while.  
But of our purpose nowe for to speake agayne,  
Fewe princes geue that which to them selfe attayne.  
Trust me Coridon, I tell thee by my soule, 1265  
They robbe saint Peter therewith to cloth S. Powle.<sup>1</sup>  
And like as dayly we both may see and here,  
Some pill the Church, therewith to leade the quere.  
While men promoted by such rapine are glad,  
The wretches pilld mourne and be wo and sad. 1270  
And many heyres liue giltlesse in distresse,  
While vnworthy hath honour and riches.  
But such vile giftes may not be true playnly,  
Nor yet possessed by lawe rightwisely.  
And sith fewe rowmes of lordly dignitie 1275  
Be won or holden with right and equitie,  
Say what thing haue they to geue by lawe and right,  
Sith their chiefe treasure is won by wrongful might.  
Whence come their iewels, their coyn, and cloth of price,

---

*Longinum, & magnos Senecæ prædiuitis hortos  
Clausit, & egregias Lateranorum obsidet aedes  
Tota cohors. (Sat. 10).*

Perierunt enim & Laterani propter diuitias. Sancte  
igitur scriptum est, & vere: Qui amat diuitias, fructum  
non capiet ex eis.

Adde quod paucissimi Reges quæ sua sunt donant.  
Rapiunt enim vt donent: quæ nec vera sunt dona,  
nec iustè possidentur. Cum vix Regnū vllum inuenia-  
tur, quod non sit vel partum, vel continuatum fraude.  
Quid est quod largiri iustè Principes possint?

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Saue moste by rapine and selling of Iustice, 1280  
 Els of Saint Peters, or Christes patrimony.  
 Nowe fewe be founders, but confounders many.  
 These be no giftes true, honest nor laudable,  
 Neyther to the geuer nor taker profitable.  
 These men call giftes of none vtilitie, 1285  
 Which thus proceedeth of false iniquitie.  
 Then leaue we this vice while all good men it hate,  
 For couetous with coyne be neuer sariate.  
 I hearde syr Sampson<sup>1</sup> say but this other day,  
 That Ierome and Seneca do both this sentence say, 1290  
 That couetous wretches not onely want that thing  
 Which they neuer had in tittle nor keeping.  
 But that which they haue also they want and fayle,  
 Sith they it hauing of it haue none auayle.  
 And as I remember, olde Codrus sayde also 1295  
 That golde nought helpeth when we must hence go.  
 Scant haue we pleasure of it while we here tary,  
 And none can his store nor glory with him cary.  
 Thus ought we to liue as hauing all in store,  
 But nought possessing, or caring nought therefore. 1300  
 What should christen men seeke farther for riches,

---

Vnde pecuniæ? Vnde iocalia veniunt, quæ apud Principes sunt, nisi ex raptu vel venditione Iusticiæ, aut ex spolijs Ecclesiarum? At ista sunt iniquitatis præmia, quæ nec Regi prodesse, neque tibi vtilitati, si donata fuerint, esse possint.

Relinquamus igitur hanc diuitiarum cupiditatem, quia non impletur auarus pecunia: & Auaro, vt inquit Hieronymus, & Seneca prius dixerat, tam deest quod habet, quam quod non habet. Scimus Scripturam dicentem; quia non proderunt diuitiæ in tempore vltionis. Diues enim, cum interierit, non sumet omnia, & non descendet cum eo gloria domus eius. Viuamus, obsecro, tanquam nihil habentes, & omnia possidentes.

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Hauing foode and cloth it is ynough doubtlesse,  
And these may our Lorde geue vnto vs truely.  
Without princes seruice or courtly misery.  
Thus finde we in court playne no riches at all, 1305  
Or els finde we such with care continuall.  
That it were better no riches to haue founde  
Then for false treasure in thraldome to be bound.

*Coridon*

Looke vp mate Cornix, beholde into the west,<sup>1</sup>  
These windy cloudes vs threatneth some tempest. 1310  
My clothes be thin, my shepe be shorne newe,  
Such storme might fall that both might after rewe.  
Driue we our flockes vnto our poore cotage,  
To morowe of court we may haue more language.  
This day haste thou tolde and proued openly 1315  
That all such courtiers do liue in misery.  
Which serue in the court for honour, laude or fame,  
And might or power, thou proued haste this same:  
And that all they liue deepest in distresse  
Which serue there to win vayne treasour and<sup>2</sup> riches. 1320  
As for the other two, and if ought more remayne,  
Thou mayest tell to morowe when we turne agayne.

*Cornix*

I graunt Coridon, take vp thy bottell sone,  
Lesse is the burthen now that the drinke is done,  
Lo here is a sport, our bottell is contrary 1325  
To a Cowes vtter, and I shall tell thee why.  
With a full vtter retourneth home the cowe,

---

Victus atque vestitus, vt iterum Hieronymi verbis  
vtar. Diuitiæ Christianorum sunt: & has est potens  
nobis Dominus, absque ministerio Principum, tradere.

Diuitias veras apud Reges, vel non inuenimus, vel  
tales inuenimus, quas longè melius fuerat non inue-  
nisse, At hoc de diuitijs libâsse sufficiat: Ex quibus, ni  
fallor, monstratum est, stultitiæ operam dare, qui ob  
opes Principibus famulantur.

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

So doth not the bottell as it appereth now.  
Coridon, we must haste in our iourney make,  
Or els shall the storme vs and our shepe ouertake. 1330

FINIS

Thus endeth the first Egloge of the miseries of the  
Courtiers, compiled and dravven *by Alexander Barclay*. A vj

Here beginneth the seconde Egloge of the miseryes  
of Courtiers.

*Coridon*

**H**OW fel this Cornix, why taryed thou so long,<sup>1</sup>  
This is the fourth daye, some thinge is with thee  
wronge,

Els some perturbation of houshold busynes  
Unto thy pasture hath made thee tende the lesse.

*Cornix*

Codrus the richest Shepherde of our coast, 5  
Which of his wethers is wont him selfe to boast,  
Unto a banket frendly inuited me  
The same day after I departed<sup>2</sup> fro thee:  
While I him helped his gestes for to chere,  
That hath me caused so lately to be here. 10

*Coridon*

Who fatly fareth with costly meate and drinke,  
For worke behouefull doth litle care or thinke.  
When full is the wombe the bones would haue rest,<sup>3</sup>  
Fye on such surfeyt, fayre temperaunce is best. -  
My wiues gray hen one egge layde euery day, 15  
My wife fed her well to cause her two to lay.  
But when she was fat, then layde she none at all,  
I trowe that like chaunce be vnto thee befall.  
For nowe of thy flocke thou hast no minde nor care,  
Since time thy wittes were dulled with fat fare. 20

*Cornix*

Not so Coridon, for when I sup at home,  
I oft go to bed with faynt and hungry wombe:  
Then lye I slumbring to win in slepe I thinke  
That same which I lost for want<sup>4</sup> of meate and drinke.  
But when I am fed, then sleepe I stedfastly, 25  
And after short rest then worke I lustely.<sup>5</sup>

*Coridon*

A birde well ingorged kepes well her nest,  
A full bely asketh a bed full of rest.

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

*Cornix*

That is when dyet exceedeth temperaunce,  
Then foloweth slouth and all misgouernaunce: 30  
As brauling, babling, discorde and lechery,  
Blaspheming, lying, craking and periury.  
But as touching me, because I want at home,  
When I am abroade I furnish well my wombe.  
Yet more I take not then nature may sustayne, 35  
And then sore worke I it to disgest agayne.  
So did I with Codrus till I am fatigate.

*Coridon*

I wist well something made thee to come so late.  
Me list no longer to common of excesse,  
But tell me Cornix what was thy busynes. 40

*Cornix*

The riuer began the bankes to ouerflowe  
At diuers partes, where as the ground was lowe.  
For might of water will not our leasure bide,  
We fayne were our shepe a while<sup>1</sup> to set aside.  
And both day and night to put to our diligence 45  
For to ouercome the floudes violence.  
Strengthing our bankes, and heyghting them agayne  
Which were abated with flouds or<sup>2</sup> great rayne.

*Coridon*

The earth in this poynt is like maners of men,  
From hye groundes<sup>3</sup> water descendeth to the fen. 50  
The hye mountaynes of water them discharge,  
And lade the riuers with floudes great and large.  
Agayne the riuers dischargeth them likewise,  
And chargeth the Sea: so mens common gise  
Is alway to lay the burthen or the sacke 55  
(Which them sore grieueth) vpon some other backe.

*Cornix*

Nothing is truer then is this of thee sayde,<sup>4</sup>  
It is a true prouerbe, and pretily conuayde.

*Coridon*

But nowe thou art come, I pray thee heartyly,

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Begin where thou left of Courtiers misery. 60  
The heauen is clere, the cloudes cleane away,  
Which is a token of caume and pleasant day.  
The poynted birdes with pleasaunt tunes<sup>1</sup> sing,  
The dewy floures freshly doth smell<sup>2</sup> and spring.  
All thing reioyceth, eche thing doth nature kepe, 65  
Then were it great shame to vs to snort and slepe.  
By mery talking long time<sup>3</sup> seemeth short,  
In frendly speeche is solace and comfort.

*Cornix*

As I remember, we spake last of riches,  
Nowe talke we of lust or voluptuousnes. 70  
Forsooth some wretches of maners vile and rude .  
Haue counted in lust most hye beatitude. .  
And namely the sect which folowe Epicure, .  
Which shamefull sect doth to this day indure. .  
Whom the Philosophers and clerkes now a dayes, 75  
Despise with wordes, yet folowe they his wayes..  
For what is that clerke or prelate in honour, .  
Which cleane despiseth all temporall pleasour. ,  
And therefore perchaunce if any such there be,  
Despising to locke on fayrenes or beautye, 80  
Despising odours or sapour<sup>4</sup> delicate,  
And pleasaunt touching despising in like rate:  
Some call them happy which can such thing exclude,

---

Nunc tempus admonet, vt de VOLVPTATIBVS  
disseramus, in quibus multi mortales beatitudinem  
posuerunt: *Atque* in primis Epicurus, vir aliquando  
magnus quem Philosophi nostri temporis magis verbis,  
quam factis, reprobant. Nam quotus est, obsecro, vel  
*Theologorum* qui voluptatibus non inseruiat. Quamo-  
brem forte inueneris, qui aspernetur oculis pulchri-  
tudinem rerum; non odore vllo, non tactu, non sapore  
capiatur, secludat<sup>ue</sup> auribus omnem suauitatem: Huic  
homines, & fortasse pauci, Deos propitios, plærìque  
autem iratos putabunt.

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

But no men count them of maners dull and rude.  
For two diuers wayes doth mans life contayne, 85  
The one of vertue, of diligence and payne:  
The other of lust, of pleasure, mirth and rest,  
The first despising, men count the second best.  
The way of vertue is rough and desolate,  
With weede and thornes shut, for all men it hate. 90  
Fewe it frequenteth or folowe in regarde,  
For the first entry to them appereth harde.  
The way of pleasure is playne and eident,  
And greatly worne, for many it frequent.  
The harde way of vertue at ende hath quietnes, 95  
The playne way of pleasure hath daunger and distresse.  
Yet where one haunteth the passage of vertue,  
For that one foure score their lustes doth insue.

*Coridon*

These matters be hye and semeth me diffuse,  
Drawe to our purpose, cause me no longer muse. 100

*Cornix*

Though I be poore and here nothing set by,  
Yet haue I or this sene some Philosophy,  
But the lacke of vse hurteth all science,  
And wretched thraldome is enemie<sup>1</sup> to prudence.  
What time the person is counted as abiect, 105  
Then langour maketh the wit of small effect.  
A famous doctor is blinded among fooles,  
Onely his valour is clerest<sup>2</sup> in the scholes.  
A precious stone well couched in pure<sup>3</sup> golde

---

In Oratione pro Marcello Ciceronem declamantem  
inuenimus; quibus in verbis omnes QUINQUE SEN-  
SVS tetigit, quibus voluptates hauriuntur. Cumque  
duæ viæ sint, quibus humana vita continetur, Altera  
virtutum, Altera voluptatum: Illa deserta, inculta atque  
interclusa frondibus & virgultis: hæc semper hominum  
frequentia teritur; nec quisquam est, qui voluptati non  
obsequatur.



*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Is bright and comely, and goodly to beholde, 110  
Throwe it in the mire then is the beautie gone  
And hid for the time, both of the golde and stone.  
For lacke of vsing a sworde earst glased bright  
With rust is eaten, made foule and blacke to sight:  
Right so my reason sometime freshe to deuise, 115  
Is now made rusty for lacke of exercise.

*Coridon*

By this disputing thou mayst scoure of<sup>1</sup> the rust,  
Returne now to speake of pleasour and<sup>2</sup> lust.

*Cornix*

Many blinde wretches bide in the court labour,  
There wening to win their lustes and pleasour, 120  
But it is a wonder and matter chiefe of all  
To speake of their folly and appetite rurall:  
But first let vs talke what pleasour is there sene  
With the fiue wittes, beginning at the eyne.

*Coridon*

That is truth Cornix, right many things there be 125  
Which men haue pleasour and great delite to see;  
And these in the court be moste in<sup>3</sup> abundaunce.

*Cornix*

Nay, there has the sight no maner of pleasaunce,  
And that shall I proue long time or it be night.  
Some men deliteth beholding men to fight, 130  
Or goodly knightes in pleasaunt apparayle,  
Or sturdie souldiers in bright harnes<sup>4</sup> and<sup>5</sup> male,  
Or an army arayde ready<sup>6</sup> to the warre,  
Or to see them fight, so that he stande afarre.

---

Suntque admodum multi, qui tanquam voluptatibus  
fruituri, obsequia Principum amplectuntur: quod quam  
stultissimum sit, operæ precium fuerit ostendisse: Ac  
de voluptate, quæ primum OCVLIS percipitur, primum  
dicamus.

Oblectantur nonnulli, dum splendidos Equites con-  
spiciunt, dum bella geri, exercitusque concurrere vident;

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Some glad is to see these Ladies beauteous 135  
 Goodly appoynted in clothing sumptuous: 1  
 A number of people appoynted in like wise 1  
 In costly clothing after the newest gise, 1  
 Sportes, disgising,<sup>1</sup> fayre coursers mount and prounce,<sup>1</sup>  
 Or goodly ladies and knightes sing and daunce, 140  
 To see fayre houses and curious picture, 1  
 Or pleasaunt hanging, or sumptuous vesture 1  
 Of silke, of purpure or golde moste orient, 1  
 And other clothing diuers and excellent, 1  
 Hye curious buildinges<sup>2</sup> or palaces royall, 145  
 Or Chapels, temples fayre and substanciall, 1  
 Images grauen or vaultes curious, 1  
 Gardeyns and medowes, or place delicious, 1  
 Forestes and parkes well furnished with dere,<sup>1</sup>  
 Colde pleasaunt streames or welles fayre and clere, 150  
 Curious cundites or shadowie<sup>3</sup> mountaynes, 1  
 Swete pleasaunt valleys, laundes or playnes, 1  
 Houndes, and suche other thinges manyfolde 1  
 Some men take pleasour and solace to beholde.  
 But all these pleasoures be much more iocounde 155  
 To priuate persons which not to court be bounde,<sup>1</sup>  
 Then to suche other whiche of necessitie 1  
 Are bounde to the court as in captiuitie.  
 For they which be bounde to princes without fayle, 1

dum formosas cultasque mulieres intuentur: dum cœtus  
 hominum ornatorum: dum ludos, dum iocos, dum pul-  
 cros equos, dum picturas, dum sericeos pannos, pur-  
 pureos, aureos; dum mirificas vestes, insignes vrbes,  
 egregias domos, alta palatia, marmorea templa, testu-  
 dines, viridantia prata, lucos, fontes, flumina, feras:  
 serenum aërem, montes apricos, amœnas valles, armenta,  
 canes, & huiusmodi cætera contemplantur.

At hæc omnia multo i[u]cundiora\* sunt priuatis homi-  
 nibus, quam Curia obligatis. Nam qui seruitio Regum

\* 1578 ed. incundiora.

## *The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

When they must nedes be present in battayle 160  
 There shall they not be at large to see the sight,  
 But as souldiours in middest of the fight,  
 To runne here and there sometime his foe to smite,  
 And oftentimes wounded, herein is small delite.  
 And more muste he think his body to defende, 165  
 Then for any pleasour about him to intende,  
 And oft is he faynt and beaten to the grounde,  
 I trowe in suche sight small pleasour may be founde.  
 As for fayre ladies clothed in silke and golde  
 In court at thy pleasour thou canst not beholde, 170  
 At thy princes pleasour thou shalt them onely see,  
 Then suche shalt thou see which little set by thee,  
 Whose shape and beautie may so enflame thine heart,  
 That thought and langour may cause thee for to smart.  
 For a small sparcle may kindle loue certayne, 175  
 But scantly Seuerne may quench it clene agayne.  
 And beautie blindeth and causeth man to set  
 His heart on the thing which he shall neuer get.  
 To see men clothed in silkes pleasauntly  
 It is small pleasour, and ofte causeth enuy. 180  
 While thy leane Iade halteth by thy side  
 To see another vpon a Courser ride,  
 Though he be neyther gentleman nor knight,  
 Nothing is thy fortune thy hart can not be light.  
 As touching sportes and games of pleasaunce, 185  
 To sing, to reuell and other daliaunce:

---

mancipatus est, in bello non vt spectator, sed vt miles  
 aderit, & huc atque illuc concursabit, ac hostem ferire,  
 sequē tueri magis, quam oblectare oculos cogitabit.

Mulieres non intuebitur, nisi cum Regi placuit:  
 tuncque illas videbit, cum alijs gratæ, sibi molestissimæ  
 sunt.

Ornati vestibus homines, plus inuidiæ, quam volup-  
 tatis præbent: & alienos equos, & meliores, & niti-  
 diores, quam sui, non lætabitur inspexisse. Iocis atque

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Who that will truely vpon his lorde attende  
Unto suche sportes<sup>1</sup> he seldome may entende.  
Palaces, pictures and temples sumptuous,  
And other buildinges<sup>2</sup> both gay and curious: 190  
These may marchauntes more at their pleasour see,  
Then suche as in court be bounde alway to bee.  
Sith kinges for moste parte passe not their regions,  
Thou seest nowe Cities of foreyn nations.  
Suche outwarde pleasoures may the people see, 195  
So may not courtiers for lacke of libertie.  
As for these pleasours of thinges variable  
Which in the fieldes appeare[t]h\* delectable,  
But seldome season mayest thou obtayne respite  
The same to beholde with pleasour and delite. 200  
Sometime the courtier remayneth halfe the yere  
Close within walles muche like a prisonere,  
To make escapes some seldome times are wont,  
Saue when their princes haue pleasour for to hunt,  
Or els otherwise them selfe to recreate, 205  
And then this pleasour shall they not loue but hate:  
For then shall they foorth most chiefly to their payne,<sup>3</sup>  
When they in mindes would at home remayne.  
Other in the frost, hayle or els snowe,  
Or when some tempest or mightie wind doth blowe, 210  
Or els in great heat and feruour excessife,

ludis perraro intererit, lateri regio semper assistens.  
Palatia vero, Templa, picturas, facilius spectare Mercatores, atque priuati homines, quam Curiales possunt.

Cumque Reges perraro suorum regnorum limites exeant, vrbes inspicere non nisi vnus regni poteris.  
Nec quid apud alias Gentes sit preciosum, videnti tibi copia dabitur.

Ea quoque, quæ in campis sunt visu delectabilia, rarissime inspicias, domo clausus quasi captiuus, nec vnquam exhibis, nisi cum Rex vel venari voluerit, vel

\*Cawood appeareeh

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

But close in houses the moste parte waste their life,  
Of colour faded, and choked<sup>1</sup> nere with dust:  
This is of courtiers the ioy and all the lust.

*Coridon*

What, yet may they sing and with fayre ladies daunce, 215  
Both commen and laugh, herein is some pleasaunce.

*Cornix*

Nay, nay, Coridon, that pleasour is but small,  
Some to contente<sup>2</sup> what man will pleasour call,  
For some in the daunce hir pincheth by the hande, /  
Which gladly would see him stretched in a bande. / 220  
Some galand seketh hir fauour to purchase, /  
Which playne abhoreth for to beholde his face. /  
And still in daunsing most parte inclineth she  
To one muche viler and more abiect then he. /  
No day ouerpasseth but that in court men finde / 225  
A thousande thinges to vexe and greue their minde. / Bi  
Alway thy foes are present in thy sight, /  
And often so great is their degree and might /  
That nedes must thou kisse y<sup>e</sup> hand which did thee harm /  
Though thou would see it cut gladly from the arme. / 230  
And briefly to speake, if thou to court resorte,  
If thou see one thing of pleasour or comfort,  
Thou shalt see many before or thou depart  
To thy displeasour and pensiuenes of heart:  
So findeth thy sight there of more<sup>3</sup> bitternes 235  
And of displeasour, then pleasour and gladnes.

---

aliter animum relaxare: quod tum fiet, cum maxime  
velles domi manere, cum niues agros coopuerint, vel  
cum Solis feruore Mundus ardebit. Sed marcet plærun-  
que sub tecto, squalida pulueribus, pars maior Curialium:  
Nec in choreis atque tripudijs fœminarum delectatio  
datur: cum tu illam respicias, quæ in alium, & te nedum  
spernit, sed etiam odit. Nulla dies est, in qua res mille  
non videas, quæ tuum conturbent animum. Semper tibi  
ante oculos inimici sunt, oscularique manum persæpe

## *The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

### *Coridon*

As touching the sight nowe see I clere and playne  
That men in the court shall finde but care and payne, '  
But yet me thinketh as dayly doth appeare,  
That men in the court may pleasaunt thinges heare, ' 240  
And by suche meanes haue delectation,  
While they heare tidinges and communication, '  
And all the chaunces and euery neweltie  
Aswell of our coste as farre beyonde the sea.  
There men may heare some that common of wisdom, 245  
For of men wisest within the court be some,  
There be recounted and of men learned tolde '  
Famous Chronicles of actes great and olde, '  
The worthy dedes of princes excellent, '  
To moue yong princes suche actes<sup>1</sup> to frequent. \ 250  
For when wise men dare not bad princes blame,  
For their misliuing, Minalcas sayth the<sup>2</sup> same,  
Of other princes then laude they the vertue '  
To stirre their lordes suche liuing to ensue. '  
And while they commende princes vnworthily, ' 255  
To be commendable they warne them secretly. \  
All this may courtiers in court ofte times heare, \  
And also songes of times<sup>3</sup> swete and cleare. \  
The birde of Cornewall, the Crane and the Kite,  
And mo other like to heare is great delite,<sup>4</sup> \ 260  
Warbling their tunes at pleasour and at will, \  
Though some be busy that therin haue no skill.<sup>5</sup>  
There men may heare mucche other melody \  
In sounde resembling an heauenly armony. \

cogeris, quam velles truncatam videre: facileque plus amaritudinis, quam dulcedinis, visus tuus ex Curia reportabit.

At in AVDITV, dices, magna est Curialium delectatio, dum Nouitates totius orbis, viros sapientissimos loquentes, dum gesta virorum magnorum, dum cantus, sonosque audiunt Musicorum.

## *The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Is this not pleasour? me thinkes no mirth is scant      265  
Where no reioysing of minstrelcie doth want,  
The bagpipe or fidle to vs is delectable,  
Then is there solace more greatly commendable.

### *Cornix*

Thou art disceaured and so be many mo,  
Which for suche pleasour vnto the court will go,      270  
But for these also I muste finde remedy,  
Whiche sue to the court for lust of melody.  
They be mad fooles which to reioyce their eares  
Will liue in court more dreadfull then with beares:  
In stede of pleasour suche finde but heauines,      275  
They heare small good, but muche vnhappines.  
As touching tidinges which thou dost<sup>t</sup> first abiect,  
There muche thinges is tolde false and of none effect,  
And more displeasour shall wise men in them finde/  
Then ioye and pleasour to comfort of their mind.      280  
These be tidinges in court moste commonly,  
-Of Cities taken, warre, fraude and<sup>2</sup> tyranny,  
Good men subdued or els by malice slayne,  
And bad in their stede haue victory and reigne,<sup>1</sup>  
Of spoyling, murther, oppression and rapine,<sup>1</sup>      285  
Howe lawe and iustice sore falleth to ruine.  
Among the courtiers suche newelties be tolde,  
And in meane season they laugh both yong and olde.  
While one recounteth<sup>3</sup> some dedes<sup>4</sup> abhominable,  
Suche other wretches repute it commendable.      290

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Credo & hoc plærosque decipere; Sed medendum est  
etiā huic parti, ne quis oblectaturus aures, Curiaē se  
astringat, ac molestiam pro voluptate percipiat.

Nam quod tu mihi de Nouitatibus ais, absque negocio  
confuto; cum plura illic displicentia, quam grata, audi-  
antur. Cum nunc ciuitates captæ, viri præstantes occisi,  
spolia facta, rapinæ commissæ, victores mali, victi boni  
sæpius referantur.

Viros autem sapientes, qui de moribus ac secretis

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

But men of wisdom well learned in Scripture,  
 Which talke of maners or secretes<sup>1</sup> of nature,  
 Or of histories, their disputation  
 Is swetely saused with adulation,  
 They cloke the truth their princes to content,<sup>1</sup> 295  
 To purchase fauour and minde beneuolent,<sup>1</sup>  
 And sometime poetes or oratours ornate,<sup>1</sup>  
 Make orisons before some great estate,  
 It is not so swete to heare them talking there,<sup>1</sup>  
 Where as their mindes be troubled oft with feare,<sup>1</sup> 300  
 As in the scholes, where they at libertie  
 Without all flattering may talke playne veritie.<sup>1</sup>  
 For truely in courtes all communication  
 Must nedes haue spice of adulation.  
 Suche as be giltye anone be mad and wroth / 305  
 If one be so bolde playnly to say the troth,<sup>1</sup>  
 Therfore ill liuers ofte times lauded be,<sup>1</sup>  
 And men disprayed which loue honestie,<sup>1</sup>  
 And true histories of actes auncient  
 Be falsely turned some princes to content,<sup>1</sup> 310  
 And namely when suche histories testifie<sup>1</sup>  
 Blame or disworship touching his progenie.<sup>1</sup>  
 Then newe histories be fayned of the olde,

*naturæ disputant, quique historias referunt, non nisi per adulationes apud Principes accipies. Quod si nonnunquam Oratores, atque Philosophi disert, Curias adeunt, Orationesque coram Principibus habent; non tam dulce est, eos illic audire, vbi cum metu magis loquuntur, quam in scholis, vbi sunt liberi, & ad veritatem, non complacentiam fantur. Hinc est, quod Athenis, dum libera ciuitas fuit, & Romæ, dum consules Remp. gubernabant, litterarum studia maxime floruerunt.*

*In Curijs vero, quilibet sermo per adulationem habetur, nihil ad verum dicitur, Commendantur mali, bonique vituperantur. Sunt qui Veterum narrant historias, sed mendose adque peruerse.*



*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

With flattery paynted and<sup>1</sup> lyes manyfolde.  
Then some good scholer without promotion 315  
Hearing suche glosed communication,  
Dare not be so bolde his lying to gaynsay,  
But laugh in his minde yet at the foole he may.  
And also in the court Auctours not veritable  
And least of valour are counted moste laudable, 320  
But Liuius, Salust and Quintus Curcius,  
Iustinian, Plutarche and Suetonius,  
With these noble Auctours and many suche mo/  
In this time courtiers will nothing haue to do. /

*Coridon*

Cornix, where hast thou these strange names sought? 325

*Cornix*

I sought not in youth the world all for nought.  
Minstrels and singers be in the court likewise;  
And that of the best and of the French gise,<sup>2</sup> \  
Suche men with princes be sene more acceptable  
Then men of wisdome and clarkes venerable, \ 330  
For Philosophers, Poetes and Oratours,  
Be seldome in court had in so great honours. \  
When thou fayne would here suche folkes<sup>3</sup> play or sing, \  
Nothing shall be done of them at thy liking, \  
But when it pleaseth thy prince<sup>4</sup> them to call \ 335

Claris autoribus non creditur, sed fabellis inanibus  
fides adhibetur.

Plus Guidoni de Columna, qui bellum Troianum  
magis poëtica, quam historice scripsit; vel Marsilio de  
Padua, qui translationes Imperij, quæ nunquam fuerent,  
ponit; vel Vincentio Monacho; quam Liuius, Salustius,  
Iustinus, Quintus Curtius, Plutarchus, ac Suetonius, præstan-  
tissimus autoribus, creditur.

Citharistas vero, ac Cantores, quamuis Curia solet  
optimos habere (plus enim hoc genus hominum, quam  
Philosophorum vel Poëtarum, Principibus placet) non  
ad tuam, sed Regis audies voluptatem. Cumque

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Their sounde ascendeth to chamber and to hall,  
 When thou wouldest slepe or do some busines `  
 Then is their musike to thee vnquietnes, ` 340  
 Yet bide their clamour and sounde thou must ` 345  
 To thy great trouble and no pleasour or lust; 350  
 This is of singers the very propertie,  
 Alway they coueyt desired for to be, ` 355  
 And when their frendes would heare of their cunning  
 Then are they neuer disposed for to sing, ` 360  
 But if they begin desired of no man ` 365  
 Then shewe they all and more then they can, ` 370  
 And neuer leaue they till men of them be wery, ` 375  
 So in their conceyt their cunning they set by: ` 380  
 And thus when a man would gladiest them heare, ` 385  
 Then haue they disdayne in presence to appeare, ` 390  
 And then when a man would take his ease and rest, ` 395  
 Then none can voyde them they be in place so prest, ` 400  
 Yet muste thou nedes eche season principall ` 405  
 Rewarde suche people els art thou nought at all, ` 410  
 For their displeasour to thee and paynes harde: ` 415  
 Lo suche is the court, thou must geue them rewarde.  
 Beside this in the court men scant heare other thing  
 Saue chiding and brauling, banning and cursing,  
 Eche one is busy his felowe for to blame, ` 420  
 There is blaspheming of Gods holy name, ` 425

---

dormire, aut aliud opus agere velles, tum potissime  
 istorum sonis, aut cantibus inquietaberis.  
*Omnibus hoc vitium est cantoribus (inquit Oratius) inter amicos  
 Vt nunquam inducant animum cantare rogati,  
 Iniussi nunquam desiscant. (Hor. Sat. 5).*

Quo fit, vt cum nolis audias, cum velis, nusquam appar-  
 eant. Et tamen his, singulis Calendis, aliquid cogeris  
 elargiri.

Quid, quod omnia iurgiorum atque rixarum sunt  
 plena: Vnus alteri maledicit. increpant se inuicem:  
 Blasphemiæ in Deum, sanctosque iaciuntur; omnes in

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Deuising othes with pleasour for the nonce,  
And often they speake together all at once,  
So many clamours vse they at euery tide  
That scant mayst thou heare thy felowe by thy side,  
They boste their sinnes<sup>1</sup> as paste the feare of shame, 365  
Detracting other men faultie in the same,  
One laudeth his lande where he was bred and borne,  
At others countrey<sup>2</sup> hauing disdayne and scorne,  
On eche side soundeth foule speche of ribawdry,  
Uaunting and bosting of sinne and vilanny, 370  
No measure, no maner, shame nor reuerence,  
Haue they in wordes in secret or presence,  
A rustie ribaude more viler then a sowe  
Hath in the court more audience then thou,  
Some boke,<sup>3</sup> some braule, some slaunder and backbite, 375  
To heare suche maners can be but small delite,  
Except a wretche will confourme him to that sorte,  
Then in suche hearing his blindnes hath comfort.  
These scabbed scolions may do and say their will,  
When men of worship for very shame are still, 380  
Who that hath wisdomẽ would rather deafe to be  
Then dayly to heare suche vile enormitie.

*Coridon*

I see in hearing men in the court haue no ioye  
Yet is it pleasour to handle and to toye  
With Galatea, Licoris or Phillis, 385  
Neera, Malkin or lustie Testalis,<sup>4</sup>

---

confuso loquuntur. tot clamores sunt, vt vix socium,  
qui prope te est, valeas audire. Quilibet sua facinora  
narrat, cum derogatione alterius. Illi suam patriam  
laudent, & alienam vituperant: spurcissima vndique  
verba personant: nulla in verbis modestia, nulla reue-  
rentia, nullus pudor. Scurræ semper audiuntur, vel  
detrahentes, vel ructantes. Nam his solis libertas est,  
quicquid vel facere velint, vel dicere. Ad hæc, si quis  
sapiat, surdus potius esse velit, quam audire.

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

And other dames, yf coyne be in the pouche  
Men may haue pleasour them for to fele and touche.  
In Court hath Uenus hir power principall, \ 390  
For women vse to loue them moste of all \  
Which boldly bosteth or that can sing and iet, \  
Which are well decked with large bushes<sup>1</sup> set, \  
Which hath the mastery ofte time in tournament, \  
Or that can gambauld<sup>2</sup> or daunce feat<sup>3</sup> and gent,<sup>4</sup> \  
Or that can alway be mery without care, 395  
With suche can wemen moste chiefly deale and fare:  
So may these courtiers in court some pleasour win \  
Onely in touching and feling their softe skinne.

*Cornix*

Thou art abused, forsooth it is not so,  
Louers in court haue moste of care and wo. \ 400  
Some women loue them inflamed by vile lust, \  
But yet very few dare them beleue or trust: \  
For well knowe wemen that courtiers chat and bable, \  
They bost their sinnes, and euer be vnstable \  
After their pleasour, then to the old adewe, \ 405  
Then be they busy to puruay for a newe. \  
This knowe all wemen, some by experience,  
So fewe to courtiers geue trust or confidence, \  
Except it be suche as forseth not hir name, \  
Or passeth<sup>5</sup> all feare, rebuke or worldly shame, \ 410  
Then suche a brothell hir kepeth not to one, \

Iam de TACTV pergamus, in quo Venus potissime dominatur, quam nonnulli, rerum ignari, blandissimam in Curijs esse confidunt: Ex eo errantes, quod mulieres eos amare consueuerunt, qui vestibis sunt ornati, qui crines ventilant, qui torneamentis intersunt, qui canunt, qui choreas ducunt, qui semper læti atque hilares inueniuntur, sicut Curiales esse videntur.

Sed minime ita est, vt grata sit hîc Venus. Nam si qua est mulier, quæ hos amat, non tamen eis se credit, quos loquaces agnoscit iactatores, instabiles plurimum

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

For many courtiers ensueth hir alone.  
And none shalt thou loue of this<sup>1</sup> sorte pardee,  
But that she loueth another better<sup>2</sup> then thee.  
And then as often as parting felowes mete — 415  
They chide and braule though it be in the strete,  
Hatred and strife and fighting commeth after,  
Effusion of bloud, and oftentime manslaughter.  
Thou canst no woman kepe streite and nigardly,  
To whom many one doth promise largely. 420  
Another shall come more freshe and gayly decte,  
Then hath he fauour and thou art cleane abiecte,  
Then thou hast wasted thy money, name and sede,  
Then shalt thou haue nought saue a mocke for thy mede,  
Thou art the ninth wening to be alone, 425  
For none of this sorte can be content with one:  
Yet shall she fayne hir chaste as Penelope,  
Though she loue twentie as well as she doth thee,  
And eche for his time shall haue a mery loke.  
She sigheth as she great sorowe for thee<sup>3</sup> toke, 430  
With fayned teares she moysteneth oft thy lap  
Till time that thy purse be taken in a trap,  
And if she perceiue that all thy coyne is gon,  
Then daunce at the doore, adewe gentle Iohn.  
And ofte when thou goest to visite thy lemman, 435  
With hir shalt thou find some other ioly man,  
Then shall she make thee for to beleue none other  
But he is hir father, hir vncler or hir brother:  
But playnly to speake, he brother is to thee,  
If kinred may rise of suche iniquitie. 440

amatores: nisi forsitan aliqua est, quæ famam parui-  
faciat; tuncque multis circa vnam cōcurrunt, nec vllam,  
sine riuali diliges. Hinc rixe, contentiones, odiosa verba,  
interdum verbera, & homicidia. Nullam nutrire  
modico poteris, cui assint qui multa promittant.  
Veniet alter te pulcrior & acceptior; Nulla tamen fides  
est, quæ vno contenta sit viro. Sæpe cum amicam petes,

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Agayne to hir house if that thou after come  
Then shalt thou finde that she is not at home,  
But gone to some other, which for rebuke and shame  
Durst not come to hir for hurting of his name.

*Coridon*

Here is a rule, this doth excede my minde, 445  
Who would thinke this gile to be in womankinde,  
But yet man pardie some be as good within  
As they be outwarde in beautie of their skin,  
Of this cursed sorte they can not be eche one,  
Some be which kepe them to one louer alone, 450  
As Penelope was to hir Ulisses.  
Thinke on what Codrus recounted of Lucres,  
Though she not willing was falsely violate  
With hir owne handes procured she hir fate.

*Cornix*

It were a great wonder among the women all 455  
If none were partles of luste venerall,  
I graunt some chast what time they can not chuse,  
As when all men their company refuse,  
Or when she knoweth hir vice should be detect,  
Then of misliuing auoydeth she the sect. 460  
And though in the world some women thou mayst<sup>1</sup> find  
Which chastly liue of their owne<sup>2</sup> kinde,  
Or that can kepe hir selfe onely to one,  
Yet is with suche<sup>3</sup> of pleasour small or none,  
To hir at pleasour thou canst not resorte: 465  
In pleasour stollen small<sup>4</sup> is the comfort,  
Neyther mayst thou longe with suche one remayne,  
And in shorte pleasour departing in great payne,  
To hir mayst thou come but onely nowe and then,  
By stealth and startes as priuily<sup>5</sup> as thou can. 470

aut alium cum ea inuenies, aut isse illam ad alium  
reperies.

Quod si tibi grata obtigerit & fida puella, non poteris,  
nisi raptim, & per furtum esse cum illa. Neque seruire

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Thy loue and thy lorde mayst thou not serue together, '  
If so, thy wit is distract thou wot not whither, '  
Thy lorde doth challenge to him thy whole seruice, '  
And the same doth loue challenge in like wise.  
Not onely it is harde in the court to saue 475  
Thy leman chaste with hir pleasour to haue,  
But also it is extreme difficultie  
Thine owne wife in court to kepe in chastitie,  
For flattering woers on euery side appeare, '  
And lustie galandes of fayre dissimuled cheare: 480  
Some promis golde and giftes great and small,  
Some hastie galande is yet before them all,  
So many woers, baudes and brokers, -  
Flatterers, liers, and hastie proferers -  
Be alway in court, that chaste Penelope 485  
Coulede scant among them preserue hir chastitie. -  
So great temptation no woman may resist, -  
If heauenly power hir might do not assist, '  
For craft and coyne, flattery and instaunce, '  
Turneth chaste mindes to vile misgouernaunce, 490  
Though she be honest yet must thou leaue thy loue,  
Sith princes courtes continually remoue,  
Then whether she be thy wife or thy concubine, -  
Hir care and dolour is great, and so is thine:  
For neyther mayest thou with<sup>r</sup> hir abide. 495  
Nor lede hir with thee, or kepe hir by thy side, '

Regi & Amori poteris: quia vterque insolens Dominus  
est, & qui hominem totum vult sibi.

Adde, quod nedum amicam, sed nec coniugem in  
Curia pudicā seruabis. Tot sunt vndique Proci, tot  
formosi Iuuenes, tot Promissores, tot Lenæ, vt nec  
castissima coniunx resistere tot impugnationibus possit.  
Quod si probissima fuerit, deserenda est tamen, cum  
indies Curie Principum moueantur, siue coniunx sit,  
siue concubina. Tunc anxietates mentisque dolor; quia  
nec cum amica remanere, nec illam ducere tecum potes:

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

When thou art gone if she behinde remayne ~  
Then feare thee troubleth with torment & with payne. Bij  
Because that the minde of woman<sup>1</sup> is vnstable ~  
Alway thou doubttest least she be changeable, ~ 500  
And I assure thee if man be out of sight ~  
The minde of woman to returne is very light, ~  
Once out of sight and shortly out of minde,<sup>2</sup> ~  
This is their maner appeare they neuer so kinde, ~  
Adde to all these scorne and derision ~ 505  
Which thou mayst suffer, and great suspicion, ~  
Infamy, slaunder and priuie ielosie, ~  
These muste thou suffer without all remedy, ~  
And other daungers mo then a man can thinke, ~  
While other slepeth the louer scant doth winke. ~ 510  
Who hath these proued shall none of them desire,  
For children brent still after drede the fire<sup>3</sup>:  
Sith that these thinges to all men be greuouse,  
They be to courtes yet moste dammagious,  
Moste paynefull, noyous, and playnely importable, ~ 515  
In court them feling hath nothing delectable.

*Coridon*

I see the pleasour of touching is but small,  
I thought it hony, I see nowe it is gall.  
Nowe speake on Cornix, I pray thee brefely tell,  
What ioye haue courtiers in tasting or in smell, ~ 520  
For these two wittes in court be recreate,  
Els many wretches be there infatuate.

*Cornix*

The smell and tasting partly conioyned be,  
And part disioyned as I shall tell to thee,  
& instabilitatem fœminæ remanentis, cuius est in horas  
mutari, semper suspectam habebis. Iunge irrisiones, ac  
detractiones, quæ fiunt amantibus. Dinumera discrimina;  
pondera suspiciones; omnia hæc, cum sint priuatis graua,  
Curialibus importabilia, nec vsquam in atrijs Regum  
tactus oblectatur.

Sequuntur alij duo sensus, ODORANDI & GVS-



*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

For while we receyue some meates delicate, 525  
The smell and tasting then both be recreate,  
The fragraunt odour and<sup>1</sup> oyntment of swete floure.  
Onely deliteth the smelling with dolour.<sup>2</sup>  
Of meat delicious gone is the smell and tast  
When it is chewed and through the gorge past, 530  
But they which in mouth haue pleasour principall,  
Are beastly fooles and of liuing brutall.  
The famous shepheard whom Nero did behede<sup>3</sup>  
Them greatly blameth which beastly vse to fede,  
Which for their wombe chiefe care and labour take, 535  
And of their bellies are wont their God to make.

*Coridon*

A god of the wombe, that heard I neuer ere.

*Cornix*

Coridon thou art not to olde for to lere,  
I playnly shall nowe declare for thy sake,  
Howe beastly gluttons a god of their wombes make: 540  
To God are men wont<sup>4</sup> temples to edifie,  
And costly auters to ordeyne semblably,  
To ordeyne ministers to execute seruice,  
To offer beastes by way of sacrifice,  
To burne in temples well smelling incence, 545  
Gluttons to the wombe do all this reuerence.

*Coridon*

They and their goddes<sup>5</sup> come to confusion,  
Which forgeth Idols by suche abusion,  
But procede Cornix, tell in wordes playne,  
Howe all these thinges they to the wombe ordeyne, 550

TANDI, qui partim coniuncti sunt, partim disiuncti:  
Nam dum fercula redolentia, sapidaque comedimus,  
vterque sensus lætatur. Si qua aut florum, aut vnguen-  
torum sequatur fragrantia, non gustum, sed odoratum  
iuuabit, & officium suum odoratus amittet, cum in  
palato cibus masticabitur. At hi quibus in solo palato  
est caussa viuendi, stulti sunt, & pecudum vitam, non

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Which is in temple the aluter and incence,  
And the ministers to do their diligence,  
Within the temple to kepe alway seruice,  
And to the belly which is the sacrifice.

*Cornix*

To god of the belly gluttons a temple make 555  
Of the smoky kitchin, for temple it they take,  
Within this temple minister bawdy cookes,  
And yong scolions with fendes of their lookes,  
The solemne aluter is the boorde or table,  
With dishes charged twentie in a rable, 560  
The beastes offred in sacrifice or hoste  
In diuers sortes of sodden and of roste,  
The sawse is incence or of the meate the smell,  
And of this temple these be the vessell,  
Platters and dishes, mortar and potcrokes,<sup>1</sup> 565  
Pottes and pestels, broches<sup>2</sup> and fleshe hokes,  
And many mo els then I can count or tell,  
They know them best which with the kitchen mell,  
For god of the wombe this seruice they prepare,  
As for their true God full little is their care. 570

*Coridon*

This life is beastly and vtterly damnable.

*Cornix*

But yet it is nowe reputed commendable.  
Princes and commons and many<sup>3</sup> of religion  
Unto this temple haue chefe deuotion,  
To cookes and tauernes some earlier<sup>4</sup> frequent 575  
Then vnto the seruice of God omnipotent,  
First serue the belly then after serue our lorde,  
Suche is the worlde though it do ill accorde,

---

hominum sectantur.

Nam & Apostolus eos vituperat, quorum Deus venter  
est: Rem namque damnatam sequuntur; quâuis plurimi  
propterea velint Regibus obsequi, vt bibere atque

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

And suche as deliteth in beastly gluttony  
Foloweth the court, supposing stedfastly 580  
With meat and with drinke to stuffe well the paunch,  
Whose luste insatiate no flood of hell can staunch.  
And for that princes vse costly meat and wine,  
These fooles suppose to fede them with as fine,  
To eate and drinke as swete and delicate 585  
As doth their princes or other great estate.  
Likewise as flyes do folowe and thicke swarme  
About fat paunches vnto their vtter<sup>2</sup> harme:  
So suche men as haue in gluttony comfort  
To lordes kitchins moste busely resorte, 590  
With hungry throtes yet go they ofte away,  
And ofte haue the flyes much better<sup>3</sup> part then they.

*Coridon*

Then tell on Cornix what comfort and pleasour  
Men finde in court in tasting and sauour,  
With meat and drinke howe they their wombes fill, 595  
And whether they spede at pleasour and at will.

*Cornix*

To eate and to drinke then is moste ioye and luste  
When men be hungry and greued sore with thurst,  
But ofte vnto noon muste thou abide respite,  
Then turned is hunger to dogges appetite, 600  
For playne wood hungry that time is many one,

edere maxime possint. Et quia Principes optimis  
vtuntur vinis atque cibarijs, vesci quoque se eisdem  
sperant, potaturosque cum Regibus se confidunt. At  
sicut Muscæ pingues mēsas, sic isti vnctas dominorum  
popinas insectantur: quamvis regalibus epulis magis  
muscæ, quam isti potiantur.

Videamus igitur, apud fastigium regale, quanta sit  
Curialium edendi atque bibendi voluptas, quæ sane  
tunc optima est, cum fames adest, atque sitis: cum nec  
illa, nec ista protrahitur. At in Curia perraro ante meri-  
diem cibaria distribuuntur: quo tempore non famelici,

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

That some would gladly be gnawing of a bone,  
On which vile cures hath gnawen on before,  
His purse is empty and hunger is so sore,  
Or some by febleness and weery taryng 605  
Lese their appetite that they can eate nothing.  
Some other hath eaten some bread and chese before,  
That at their diner they list to eate no more,  
Their stomake stopped and closed with some crust  
From them hath taken their appetite and lust, 610  
Then other courtiers of maners bestiall  
With greedy mouthes deuoureth more then all.  
Thus some at rising be fuller then be swine,  
And some for hunger agayne may sit and dine.  
Sometime together must thou both dine and sup, 615  
And sometime thou dinest before the sunne be vp,  
But if thou refuse to eate before day light  
Then must thou tary and fast till it be night,  
To eate and to drinke then is it small delite  
When no digestion hath stirred appetite. 620  
Agayne thou art<sup>1</sup> set to supper all to late,  
All thing hath season which men of court not hate,  
For neuer shall thy meate be set to thee in season,<sup>2</sup>

sed rabidi sunt homines. Quibusdam vero expectatio longa, debilitatis spiritibus, appetitum surripuit: alij modico pane, vel caseo prægustato, orificium stomachi clausurunt: quo fit, vt alij vorent, quicquid apponitur, & ad crapulam impleantur: alij vel minimum sumere nequeant.

Interdum in ortu diei, & ante lucem, fercula posita sunt; quæ nisi comederis, vsque in noctem ieiunabis: nec tamen stomachus officium suum fecit, nec appetitus adest.

Cum post meridiem pransus fueris, rursus post horam cœna ponitur: nunquam in suo tempore cibus affertur.

*Hinc subitæ mortes, atque intestata senectus;  
(Iuuenal Sat I)*

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Whereof procedeth muche sore vexation,  
 Ofte age intestate departed sodenly, 625  
 And lustie galandes departeth sembably,  
 Hereof procedeth the vomite and the stone,  
 And other sicknes many mo then one.  
 Sometime is the wine soure, watery and so bad,  
 That onely the colour might make a man be mad, 630  
 Colde without measure or hote as horse pis,  
 Bad is the colour the sauour badder<sup>1</sup> is:  
 But if in the court thou drinke both beare and ale,  
 Then is the colour troubled, blacke and pale.  
 Thinke not to drinke it in glasse, siluer or<sup>2</sup> golde, 635  
 The one may be stollen, the other can not holde,  
 Of a trene vessell then must thou nedely<sup>3</sup> drinke,  
 Olde, blacke and rustie, lately taken fro some sinke,  
 And in suche vessell drinke shalt thou often time,  
 Which in the bottom is full of filth and slime, 640  
 And of that vessell thou drinke oft iwis  
 In which some states or dames late did pis:  
 Yet shalt thou not haue a cup at thy delite  
 To drinke of alone at will and appetite,

& orexis, & Vomitus, & iliorum dolor & Calculus, & morborum omnia genera veniunt.

Qualis Cœna, tale Vinum, quod siccidâ nolle lana pati, vt Iuuenalis ait, affertur: quod cum biberis, insanus fias, acetosum, aquaticum, corruptum, pendulum, acerbum; aut frigidu, aut nimis tepidum; colore saporeque malo. Taceo illos Principes, qui tantum Cereuisiam in potu præbent; quæ cum vbique amara sit, in Curijs tamen & amarissima est.

Nec tibi aut in argento, aut in vitro, dari pocula credas, namque in vno furtum timetur, in altero fractura. Potabis igitur ex ligneo Scypho, nigro, antiquo, fœtido; in cuius fundo fex concreta est; in quibus sepe minxisse Domini consueuerunt. Nec tibi vni Scyphus dabitur, vt si velis, vel aquam misceas, vel purum bibas,

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Coridon in court I tell thee by my soule 645  
For most parte thou muste drinke of a common boule,  
And where gresy lippes and slimy bearde  
Hath late bene dipped to make some mad<sup>1</sup> afearde,  
On that side muste thou thy lippes washe also,  
Or els without drinke from diner muste thou go.<sup>2</sup> 650  
In the meane season olde wine and dearely bought,  
Before thy presence shall to thy prince be brought,  
Whose smell and odour so swete and maruelous  
With fragrant sauour<sup>3</sup> inbaumeth all the house,  
As<sup>4</sup> Muscadell,<sup>5</sup> Caprike,<sup>6</sup> Romney,<sup>7</sup> and Maluesy,<sup>8</sup> 655  
From Gene<sup>9</sup> brought, from Greece or Hungary.  
Suche shall he drinke, suche shall to him be brought,  
Thou haste the sauour thy parte of it is nought,  
Though thou shouldest perishe for very ardent thirst<sup>10</sup>  
No drop thou gettest for to eslake thy lust, 660  
And though good wines sometime to thee be brought  
The taste of better shall cause it to be<sup>11</sup> nought,  
Oft wouldest thou drinke yet darest thou not sup  
Till time thy better haue tasted of the cup.  
No cup is filled till diner halfe be done, 665  
And some ministers it counteth then to sone,  
But if thou begin for drinke to call and craue

---

sed in communi potabis, atque ibi mordebis, vbi nunc  
vel peticulosa barba vel saliuosum labium, vel immun-  
dissimi dentes fuerunt.

Interea vinum antiquum in tua præsentia Regi pro-  
pinabitur; cuius tanta fragrantia est, vt euis odore tota  
domus repleatur. Bibet is Muscatellum, Maluaticum;  
ex Gallijs, & Matrigali, ex Riparia Genuensi, ex Hun-  
garia, atque ex ipsa Græcia sibi afferri vina iubebit;  
nec vnquam tibi vel minimum cyathum communicabit,  
quamuis cardiaca passione crucieris. Quod si bonum  
vinum ante te sit, non tamen iucunde sapiet, cum meli-  
oris fragrantiam tuæ hauserint nares.

Velles nonnunquam bibere, sed non audes, nisi

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Thou for thy calling such good rewarde shalt haue,  
That men shall call thee malapart or dronke,  
Or an abbey lowne<sup>1</sup> or limner<sup>2</sup> of a monke, 670  
But with thy rebuke yet art thou neuer the nere,  
Whether thou demaunde wine, palled ale or beare,  
Yet shalt thou not drinke when thou hast nede & thirst,<sup>3</sup>  
The cup muste thou spare ay for the better<sup>4</sup> lust.  
Through many handes shall passe the pece or cup, 675  
Before or it come to thee is all dronke vp,  
And then if a droppe or two therin remayne  
To licke the vessell sometime thou art full fayne,  
And then at the ground some filth if thou espy  
To blame the butler thou gettest but enuy. 680  
And as men wekely newe holy water power,  
And once in a yere the vessell vse to scoure,  
So cups and tankardes in court as thou mayst thinke,  
Wherein the commons are vsed for to drinke,  
Are once in the yere empty and made cleane, 685  
And scantly that well as oftentime is sene.  
For to aske water thy wines to allay  
Thou finde shalt<sup>5</sup> no nede if thou before assay,  
With rinsing of cuppes it tempered is before  
Because pure water perchaunce is not in store.<sup>6</sup> 690

---

maiores incipiant. Nec famuli vinum apponunt, nisi post medium mensæ: quod si ante petieris & importunus, & petulans, & ebriosus, iudicaberis; nec sine ignominia, quod postulas, obtinebis; nec ad tuam, sed ad maiorum sitim potabis.

Vinum postquam in mensa fuerit, per multas manus transibit, antequam ad te veniat. Nec speres mundari Scyphū dum pincernæ remisent, quamuis in fundo fex hæreat, vel intus aliquis ructauerit. Nam sicut in templis aquę benedicte subinfunditur; sic in atrijs Principum vinaria vasa, quibus famuli potant, in anno semel euacuata mundantur.

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

*Coridon*

Fye on this maner, suche seruice I defy,  
I see that in court is vncleane penury,  
Yet here though our drinke be very thin and small,  
We may therof plenty haue when we do call,<sup>1</sup>  
And in cleane vessell we drinke therof pardee, 695  
Take here the bottle Cornix, assay and see.

*Cornix*

Then call for the priest when I refuse to drinke,  
This ale brewed Bently it maketh me to winke.

*Coridon*

Thou sayest true<sup>2</sup> Cornix, beleue me, by the rood  
No hand is so sure that can alway make good, 700  
But talke of the court if thou haste any more,  
Set downe the bottle saue some licour in store.

*Cornix*

God blesse the brewer well cooled is my throte,  
Nowe might I for nede sing hier by a note,  
It is bad water that can not allay dust, 705  
And very soure ale that can not quench thirst,  
Nowe rowleth my tonge,<sup>3</sup> now chat I without payne,  
Nowe heare me I enter into the court agayne.  
Beholde in the court on common table clothes,  
So vile and ragged that some his diner lothes, 710  
Touche them then shall they vnto thy fingers cleue,<sup>4</sup>

---

Nec in Vino tantum, sed in Aqua quoque cruciatus  
inest. Nam

*Si stomachus Domini (vt Iuuenalis inquit) feruet potuque  
ciboque,*

*Frigidior geticis petitur decocta pruinis.*

Quibusdam in æstatem seruatur glacies, atque hac  
in feruoribus vina frigeſcunt; nec tibi minima portio  
dabitur, maioriſque ſiti cruciaberis, quia videndo nihil  
gustabis.

Quid tibi de mappis dicam? nigris, laceris, vinctis,  
quæ nedum tibi fastidium mouent, sed manibus appli-



*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

And then must thou wipe thy handes on thy sleue.  
So he which dayly fareth in this gise  
Is so imbrued and noynted in suche wise,  
That as many men as on his skirtes looke  
Count him a scoleon or els a greesy cooke. 715

*Coridon*

Yet Cornix agayne all courting I defye,  
More clennes is kept within some hogges stye,  
But yet mate Cornix all be not thus I wene,  
For some table clothes be kept white and clene, 720  
Finer then silke and chaunged euery day.

*Cornix*

Coridon, forsooth it is as thou doest say,  
But these be thinges most chiefe and principall,  
Onely reserued for greatest men of all:  
As for other clothes which serue the commontie, 725  
Suche as I tolde thee or els viler be,  
And still remayne they vnto the planke cleuing  
So blacke, so baudie, so foule and ill seming,  
Of sight and of cent so vile and abhominable,  
Till scant may a man discerne them from the table. 730  
But nowe heare what meat there nedes eate thou must,  
And then if thou mayst to it apply thy lust:  
Thy meate in the court is neyther swanne nor heron,  
Curlewe nor crane, but course beefe and mutton,

---

cantur, teque sequuntur, si quando te volueris tergere:  
quod plures veriti, madidas pingui iure manus, in proprijs  
desiccāt vestibus. Hinc est illud abdomen, quod  
in pectoralibus Curialium cernis, vt satius sit, in stabulis  
porcorum, quam in Curijs comedere dominorum. Nam  
mensalia illa munda, sericia, duplicata, solis Principibus  
seruiunt, & indies mutantur: tua truncis affixa tam diu,  
vt discerni à mensa possint.

Audi nunc cibaria, & sume Voluptatē, si potes.  
Nulla tibi alia mactantur animalia, quam boues, capræ,  
porci, vel Vrsi: nec ista recentia, vel paululum trita, sed

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Fat porke or vele, and namely such as is bought / 735  
 For easter price<sup>1</sup> when they be leane and nought.  
 Thy fleshe is restie or leane, tough and olde,  
 Or it come to borde vnsauery and colde,  
 Sometime twise sodden, and cleane<sup>2</sup> without taste,  
 Saused with coles and ashes all for haste, / 740  
 When thou it eatest it smelleth so of smoke  
 That euery morsell is able one to choke.  
 Make hunger thy sause be thou neuer so nice,  
 For there shalt thou finde none other kinde of spice.<sup>3</sup>  
 Thy potage is made with wedes and with ashes, / 745  
 And betwene thy teeth oft time the coles crashes,  
 Sometime halfe sodden is both thy fleshe & broth,  
 The water and hearbes together be so wroth  
 That eche goeth aparte, they can not well agree,  
 And ofte be they salte as water of the sea. / 750  
 Seldome at chese hast thou a little licke,  
 And if thou ought haue within it shall be quicke,  
 All full of magots and like to the raynebowe,  
 Of diuers colours as red, grene and yelow, / B iij  
 On eache side gnawen with mise or with rattes,<sup>1</sup> 755  
 Or with vile wormes, with dogges or with cattes,  
 Uncleane and scoruy, and harde as the stone,  
 It looketh so well thou wouldest it were gone.  
 If thou haue butter then shall it be as ill /

postquam fœtere cœperunt, dispensatores emeresolent:  
 nam quo minoris emunt, eo magis furantur.

Carnes tuæ frigidæ, bis coctæ, immundæ, insipidæ,  
 fœtentes, fumo & carbonibus plenæ, nullis condimentis,  
 nullis salsamentis, speciebusque nullis apparatus: Caules  
 putridi, rapæ marcentes, & mucidæ, legumina semi-  
 cocta; Ciceraque pisis, fabis, lentibus, interdum &  
 pulueribus atque cineribus mixta.

Caseus raro ad te venit, aut si venit, viuus est plenus  
 vermibus, vndique perforatus, situ squalidus, saxo  
 durior. Butyrum fœtidum, lardumque rancidū tua fercula

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Or worse then thy chese, but hunger hath no skill, / 760  
 And when that egges halfe hatched be almost /  
 Then are they for thee layde in the fire to rost. /  
 If thou haue peares or apples be thou sure /  
 Then be they suche as might no longer endure, /  
 And if thou none eate they be so good and fine / 765  
 That after diner they serue for the swine. ¶  
 Thy oyle for frying is for the lampes mete, /  
 A man it choketh the sauour is so swete, /  
 A cordwayners shop and it haue equal sent, /  
 Suche payne and penaunce accordeth best to lent, / 770  
 Suche is of this oyle the sauour perillous, /  
 That it might serpentes driue out of an house, /  
 Oftetime it causeth thy stomake to reboke,<sup>1</sup> /  
 And ofte it is ready thee sodenly to choke. /  
 Of fishe in some court thy chefe and vsed dishe / 775  
 Is whiting,<sup>2</sup> hearing, saltfishe and stockfishe, /  
 If the daye be solemne perchaunce thou mayst fele /  
 The taste and the sapour of tenche or ele, /  
 Their muddy sapour<sup>3</sup> shall make thy stomake ake, /  
 And as for the ele is cosin to a snake, / 780  
 But if better fishe or any dishes more /  
 Come to thy parte it nought was before, /  
 Corrupt, ill smelling, and fūe dayes olde,

condit. Oua tunc apponuntur tibi, cum iam pullos alut.  
 Pira & poma marcida, quæ nisi tu comederes, porcorū  
 esca fuissent. Oleum, quo tibi excoquuntur fercula, de  
 lampadibus sumitur, vel lucernis, cuius fœtere fugari ser-  
 pentes possent; quale illud fuisse credendum est propter  
 quod Romæ cum Bocharē<sup>4</sup> nemo lauari volebat.<sup>5</sup>.....

Pisces tui vel Lucij parui, vel Carpones, vel halecia.  
 Si natalicium fuerit, poteris & Renkam gustare, luti,  
 in quo iacuit, odore fœtentē, & Anguillam colubri  
 cognatam,<sup>6</sup> aut hosce pisces, qui apud cloacas vrbium  
 nutriuntur. Si quis tibi nobilior piscis apponetur, qua-  
 triduanus erit.

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

For sent thou canst not receyue it if thou would. /  
Thy bread is blacke, of ill sapour and taste, / 785  
And harde as a flint because thou none should wast, /  
That scant be thy teeth able it to breake, /  
Dippe it in potage if thou no shift can make, /  
And though white and browne be both at one price, /  
With broune shalt thou fede least white might make 790  
thee nice,  
The lordes will alway that people note & see /  
Betwene them and seruantes some diuersitie, /  
Though it to them turne to no profite at all, /  
If they haue pleasour the seruaunt shall haue small. /  
Thy dishes be one continuing the yere, / 795  
Thou knowest what meat before thee<sup>1</sup> shall appeare, /  
This slaketh great parte of luste<sup>2</sup> and pleasour, /  
Which asketh daynties moste diuers<sup>3</sup> of sapour,  
On one dishe dayly nedes shalt thou blowe, /  
Till thou be all wery as dogge of the bowe,<sup>4</sup> / 800  
But this might be suffred may fortune easily, /  
If thou sawe not sweter<sup>5</sup> meates to passe by, /  
For this vnto courtiers moste commonly doth hap,  
That while they haue broune bread & chese in their lap, /  
On it faste gnawing as houndes rauenous, / 805  
Anone by them passeth of meate delicious, /

Panis tuus niger,<sup>6</sup> & adeo durus, vt vix geminis dentibus frangi queat. Et quamuis eodem precio sæpe niger & albus panis ematur, ne tamen assuescas, semper nigro pascaris. Voluntque Domini assidue inter se, ac seruos, disparitatem notari, quamuis neque voluptati nonnunquam, neque vsui fuerit.

Tua insuper fercula eadem sunt: facileque in annum, quid tibi edendu sit, scire poteris: quæ res admodum voluptatē diminuit, quæ solet varietatibus irritari. Posset forsitan aliquis hoc tolerare, nisi meliora præ se ferri continuo cerneret: sicuti Curialibus accidit, qui dum sordidum panem terunt, dumque in morem

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

And costly dishes a score may they tell,  
Their greedy gorges are rapt with the smell,  
The deynteous dishes which passe through the hall;  
It were great labour for me to name them all, 810  
And Coridon all if I would it were but shame  
For simple shepheardes suche daynties to name.  
With broune bread and chese the shepheard is content,  
And scant see we fishe paste once in the lent,  
And other seasons softe chese is our food, 815  
With butter & creame then is our diner good.  
And milke is our mirth and speciall appetite,  
In apples and plommes also is our delite.  
These fill the belly although we hunger sore,<sup>1</sup>  
When man hath inough what nedeth him haue more, 820  
But when these courtiers sit on the benches idle,  
Smelling those dishes they bite vpon the bridle,<sup>2</sup>  
And then is their payne and anger fell<sup>3</sup> as gall  
When all passeth by and they haue nought at all.  
What fishe is of sauour swete and delicious 825  
While thou sore hunrest thy prince hath plenteous.  
Rosted or sodden in swete hearbes or<sup>4</sup> wine,  
Or fried in oyle moste saporous and fine,  
Suche fishe to beholde and none therof to taste,  
Pure enuy causeth thy<sup>5</sup> heart nere to brast, 830  
Then seing his dishes of fleshe newe agayne,  
Thy minde hath torment yet with muche great payne,  
Well mayst thou smell the pasties of a hart  
And diuers daynties, but nought shall be thy parte.

equorum vel ordeum, vel speltam vorant, aut, quas vocant, caseatas<sup>6</sup>:..... Quicquid in aquis suauius alitur, ante Principem, atque id vel assum: vel oleo Venefrano, vel vino coctū optimo, inter odoríferas herbas, intueberis.

Maxima inter pisces tibi inuidia accrescit, nec minor inter carnes: cum Ceruum, Leporem, Aprum, Capream, Castorea, Fascianum, Perdicem, Gruem, Pauo-

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

The crane,<sup>1</sup> the fesant, the pecocke and curlewe,  
The partriche, plouer, bittor<sup>2</sup> and heronsewe,<sup>3</sup>  
Eche birde of the ayre and beastes of the ground  
At princes pleasour<sup>4</sup> shalt thou beholde abounde.  
Seasoned so well in licour redolent  
That the hall is full of pleasaunt smell and sent,  
To see suche dishes and smell the swete odour,  
And nothing to taste is vtter displeasour.

*Coridon*

Yes somewhat shall come who can his time abide,  
And thus may I warne my felowe by my side,  
What eate softe Dromo, and haue not so great hast,  
For shortly we shall some better morsell taste,  
Softe man and spare thou a corner of thy belly,  
Anone shall be sent vs some little dishe of Ielly,  
A legge of a swan, a partriche or twayne.

*Cornix*

Nay, nay Coridon, thy bidding is in vayne,  
Thy thought shall vanishe, suche dishes be not small,  
For common courtiers of them haue nought at all,  
To thy next felowe some morsell may be sent  
To thy displeasour, great anguishe and torment,  
Wherby in thy minde thou mayst suspect and trowe  
Him more in fauour and in conceipt then thou.  
And sometime to thee is sent a little crap

---

nem, Orycem, Gallinam, Turdos, Merulas, Ficedulas,  
Ardeas, Anseres; Hædulos, Agniculos, Cuniculos,  
Asperiolos & quicquid volat, & quadrupedat saporis  
egregij, vorantem Principem videas; atque hæc egregie  
condita, pulmentariisque præparata suauissimis: quæ  
cum respicis, nihil ex his, quæ ante te sunt, mordere  
potes: sed expectas, & ad comitē dicis; Ecce iam dabit  
nobis semiesum Leporem, aut aliquid de clunibus Apri:<sup>5</sup>  
Iam piscem assum, iam congelatum aromatico iure ad  
nos mittet: Iam pullum gallinaceum, iam duas auiculas  
destinabit. Sed euanescit omnis cogitatus tuus. Nam

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

With sauour therof to take thee in the<sup>1</sup> trap,  
Not to allay thy hunger and desire,  
But by the swetenes to set thee more on fire. 860  
Beside all this sorowe increased is thy payne,  
When thou beholdest before thy lorde payne mayne<sup>2</sup>  
A baker chosen and waged well for thy,  
That onely he should that busines apply,  
If thou one manchet<sup>3</sup> dare handle or els touche, 865  
Because of duetie to thrust it in thy pouche,  
Then shall some slouen thee dashe on the eare,  
Thou shrinkest for shame thy bread leauing there.

*Coridon*

My bagge full of stones<sup>4</sup> and hooke in my hande  
Should geue me a courage suche boldly to withstand. 870

*Cornix*

Not so Coridon, they fare like to cures,  
Together they cleaue more fast then do burres,  
Though eche one with other ofte chide, braule & fight,  
Agaynst a poore stranger they shewe all their might.  
It is a great mastery for thee Coridon alone 875  
To striue or contende with many mo then one,  
A strawe for thy wisdom and arte<sup>5</sup> liberall,  
For fauour and coyne in court worketh all.  
Thy princes apples be swete and orient,  
Suche as Minalcas vnto Amintas sent, 880

---

Curialibus nihil horu porrigitur, nisi fortasse ad crucia-  
tum tuum, aliquid socio, tibi assidenti, mitteretur, quo  
scires, illum te Principi cariorem. Nonnunquam & tibi  
tantillum dabitur, non quo satieris, sed quo magis  
afficiaris tædio, quam suauessint epulæ Principum sciens.

<sup>6</sup>Panem ante Dominum niueum, ac molli saligine  
factum aspicias: ad quem pistandum proprius eligitur,  
ac magno stipendio retinetur artocopus. quem si tan-  
gere volueris, increpatus percutieris, qui panem tui  
canistri non receperis, nec intactum heri demiseris.

<sup>7</sup>Poma Principis talia sunt, qualia sorores dicuntur

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Or suche as Agros did in his keping holde,  
 Of fragrant sapour and colour like pure golde,  
 In sauour of whom thou onely haste delite,  
 But if thou shouldst dye no morsell shalt thou bite.  
 His chese is costly, fat, pleasaunt and holesome, 885  
 Though thy teeth water thou eatest not a crume,  
 Upon the sewer<sup>1</sup> well mayst thou gase and gape,  
 While he is filled thy hunger is a iape.<sup>2</sup>  
 Before thy soueraygne shall the keruer stande,  
 With diuers gesture his knife in his hande, 890  
 Dismembring a crane, or somewhat deynteous:  
 And though his parsell be fat and plenteous,  
 Though vnto diuers thou see him cut and kerue,  
 Thou gettest no gobbet<sup>3</sup> though thou shuld dye & sterue.  
 In all that thy sight hath delectation, 895  
 Thy greedy tasting hath great vexation.  
 What man will beleue that in such wretched thing,  
 A courtier may finde his pleasure or liuing.  
 What man is he but rather would assent  
 That in such liuing is anguish and torment. 900  
 May not this torment be well compared thus

---

Hesperides habuisse: & his solum oblectari potes. tam enim odorifera sunt, vt non solum propinquos, sed longè etiam stantes odore suo perfundant. Tangere tamen illa non poteris, aut quouis pacto gustare.

Caseus ex Parma, Placentiaque deducitur: sudans, cereus, pinguis, ex ouibus factus, quæ solum serpillum, cum suauissimis herbis, depastæ sunt.

<sup>1</sup>Structorem interea saltantem per domum, & Chiro-manta voluti cultello ante Dominum diuersis gestibus leporem atque gallinam secantem spectabis; qui te nihil horum permittit tangere, quibus oblectareris.

Quis est, qui rebus in istis voluptatem esse Curialibus credat? quis non potius pœnam ingentem, cruciatumque maximum recognoscat? An non similimum est hoc tormentum illi, quod Poëtae finxerunt de Tantalo,



*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Unto the torment of wretched Tantalus,  
Which as saide Faustus, whose saying I may thinke,  
In floud and fruites may neither eate nor drinke:  
Auncient Poetes this Tantalus do fayne 905  
In hell condemned to suffer such payne,  
That vp to the chin in water doth he stande,  
And to his vpper lip reache apples a thousande,  
But when he would drinke, the water doth descende,  
And when he would eate, the apples do ascende. 910  
So both fruite and water them keepeth at a stent,<sup>1</sup>  
In middes of pleasures<sup>2</sup> haue courtiers like torment.  
But nowe to the table for to retourne agayne,  
There haste thou yet another grieuous payne:  
That when other talke and speake what they will, 915  
Thou dare not whisper, but as one dombe be still.  
And if thou ought speake priuy or apert,  
Thou art to busy, and called malepert.  
If thou call for ought by worde, signe or becke,  
Then lacke with the bush<sup>3</sup> shal taunt thee with a chek.<sup>4</sup> 920  
One reacheth thee bread with grutch and murmuring,  
If thou of some other demaunde any thing,  
He hath at thy asking great scorne and disdayne,  
Because that thou sittest while he standeth in payne.  
Sometime the seruauntes be blinde and ignoraunt, 925  
And spye not what thing vpon the borde doth want.  
If they see a fault they will it not attende,  
By negligent scorne disdayning it to mende.

---

qui nec in aquis bibere nec in pomis edere potest, quomuis ad mentum vsque vtraque sibi pertingant?

Quid quod in mensa Princeps assidue fabulatur, atque tacenda, dicendaque fatur; cum tu nec loqui nec hiscere audeas. Nam si fortè mutire præsumeris, aut nutu aliquid significare, quasi casus<sup>5</sup> per plantas educeris forâs, ac vel latro, vel fur vocaberis, vel adulter.

*Maxima quæque, domus* (vt Iuuenalis ait) *seruis est plena superbis.* (*Sat. 5.*)

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Sometime thou wantest eyther bread or wine, ~  
But nought dare thou aske if thou should neuer dine. 930  
Demaunde salt, trencher, spone, or other thing, ~  
Then art thou importune, and euermore crauing: ~  
And so shall thy name be spread to thy payne, ~  
For at thee shall all haue scorne and disdayne. ~  
Sometime art thou yrked of them at the table, ~ 935  
But muche more art thou of the seruing rable. ~  
The hungry seruers which at the table stande ~  
At euery morsell hath eye vnto thy hande, ~  
So much on thy morsell distract is their minde, ~  
They gape when thou gapest, oft biting the winde. 940  
Because that thy leauinges is onely their part, ~  
If thou feede thee well sore grieued is their heart. ~  
Namely of a dish costly and deyntheous, ~  
Eche pece that thou cuttest to them is tedious. ~  
Then at the cupborde one doth another tell, 945  
See howe he feedeth like the deuill of hell.  
Our part he eateth, nought good shall we tast,  
Then pray they to God that it be thy last.

*Coridon*

I had leuer Cornix go supperlesse to bed,  
Then at such a feast to be so bested. 950  
Better is it with chese and bread one to fill,

Ille panem magno cum murmure porrigit; ille indignatur quod se aliquid poscas, & quod, se stante, recumbas. Aut non vident famuli defectum mensæ, aut, si vident, negligunt emendare. Sæpe tibi vinum, vel panis deerit, nec tamen aliquid istorum poscere audebis. Si vel aquam, vt vinum domes, vel acetum, vt piscem mergas, vel sal, vt carnes aspergas, vnquam petieris, importunus diceris.

Enumero tibi sedentium tedia; sed maiora illorum sunt, qui stantes seruiunt, & quoties aliquid mordes, ipsi tecum hiant, & aërem solum capiunt, qui solis pascentur cœnarum reliquijs. Sed accipe molestias alias.

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Then with great dayntie, with anger and ill will.  
Or a small handfull with rest and sure pleasaunce,  
Then twenty dishes with wrathfull countenaunce.

*Cornix*

That can Amintas recorde and testify,	955
But yet is in court more payne and misery.	
Brought in be dishes the table for to fill,	
But not one is brought in order at thy will.	
That thou would haue first and louest principall	
Is brought to the borde oft times last of all.	960
With bread and rude meat when thou art sariate,	
Then commeth dishes moste sweete and delicate.	
Then must thou eyther despise them vtterly,	
Or to thy hurt surfet, ensuing gluttony.	
Or if it <sup>t</sup> fortune, as seldome doth befall,	965
That at beginning come dishes best of all,	
Or thou haste tasted a morsell or twayne,	
Thy dish out of sight is taken soone agayne.	
Slowe be the seruers in seruing in alway,	
But swift be they after, taking thy meate away.	970
A speciall custome is vsed them among,	
No good dish to suffer on borde to be longe,	
If the dishe be pleasaunt, eyther fleshe or fishe,	

Sunt in Curia diuersæ dapes. Nam raro minus quatuor ferculis cœna paratur. At ista nunquam, vt optares, ex ordine dabuntur. Semper quod vltimū velles, erit primū, cum pane satur, & vrsi plenus dorso fueris: tunc tibi cibaria meliora porrigentur, vel vt stomachatus renuas, vel ad crapulam, cū tuo maximo damno, comedas. Quod si quis casus meliores epulas initio mensæ concesserit, mox illę ex oculis auferentur. Est enim magna ministris diligentia, ne diutius res preciosiores esse in mensa permittant. Nam & in ponendo tardiusculi, & in leuando celerrimi sunt.

Aspice insuper, in Paropside quot manus enatant circa carnes? quot cultelli festinant? quale periculum

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Ten handes at once swarme in the dishe. ✓  
And if it be flesh, ten kniues shalt thou see ✓ 975  
Mangling the flesh and in the platter flee:  
To put there thy handes is perill without fayle,  
Without a gauntlet or els a gloue of mayle. ✓  
Among all these kniues thou one of both must haue, ✓  
Or els it is harde thy fingers whole to saue: ✓ 980  
Ofte in such dishes in court is it seene.  
Some leaue their fingers, eche knife is so kene. ✓  
On a<sup>1</sup> finger gnaweth some hasty glutton,  
Supposing it is a piece of biefe or mutton.<sup>2</sup> ✓  
Beside these in court mo paynes shalt thou see, 985  
At borde men be set as thicke as they may be.  
The platters shall passe oft times to and fro, ✓  
And ouer the shoulders and head shall they go. ✓  
And oft all the broth and licour fat  
Is spilt on thy gowne, thy bonet and thy hat. ✓ 990  
Sometime art thou thrust for litle rowme and place, ✓  
And sometime thy felowe reboketh in thy face. ✓  
Betwene dish and dish is tary tedious,  
But in the meane time thogh thou haue payne greuous, ✓  
Neyther mayest thou rise, cough, spit or neese, ✓ 995  
Or take other easement, least thou thy name may lese. ✓  
For such as this wise to ease them are wont, ✓

---

illic manum apponere, nisi quis Chirothecam ferream receperit? Sicut apud Strigoniensem Archiepiscopum, illum, qui ante præsentem secundus fuit, Florentinum quendam fecisse commemorant. Contigit enim, vt nonnunquam alienum quis digitum, vel portiunculam manus, acceperit, atque momorderit, vituli carnem, vel bouis existimans.

Mensæ in Curijs vndique circumdantur edentibus. Cibaria supra caput tuum, & humeros afferuntur, sæpeque super te ius totum effunditur. Hic te premit, is raptat, & in faciem tuam vomit. Inter ferculum & ferculum magna fit mora, tempusque longum expectando

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

In number of rascoldes courtiers them count.  
 Of meate is none houre, nor time of certentie,  
 Yet from beginning absent if thou be, 1000  
 Eyther shalt thou lose thy meat and kisse the post,<sup>1</sup>  
 Or if by fauour thy supper be not lost,  
 Thou shalt at the least way rebukes soure abide  
 For not attending and fayling of thy tide.  
 Onions or garlike, which stamped Testilis,<sup>2</sup> 1005  
 Nor yet sweete leekes mayst thou not eate ywis.

*Coridon*

What, forsake garlike, leekes, and butter sweete?  
 Nay, rather would I go to Ely on my feete:  
 We count these deynties and meates very good,  
 These be chiefe dishes, and rurall mens foode. 1010

*Cornix*

Who court frequenteth must loue the dishes sweete,  
 And lordes dishes to him are nothing mete.  
 As for our meates, they may not eate I thinke,  
 Because great Lordes may not abide the stinke.  
 But yet the lordes siege and rurall mens ordure 1015  
 Be like of sauour for all their meates pure.  
 As for common meates, of them pleasure is small,  
 Because one seruice of them continuall  
 Allayeth pleasure, for voluptuositie  
 Will haue of dishes chaunge and diuersitie. 1020  
 And when thou haste smelled meate more delicious,

---

consumitur; cum interim nec spuere, nec screare potes,  
 nisi scurrarum numero velis haberi.

Numquam certa comedendi est hora. Si tamen in ipso  
 mensæ initio non affueris, cœna mulctaberis, aut iurgijs  
 afficeris acerbis. Inter hæc nec porrum, neque cepe,  
 neque allium, quia venenum ab Oratio dicitur, comedere  
 poteris. Nec igitur quæ Principes edunt; nam illa tuum  
 ventrem dedignantur: nec quæ Rustici vorant, quia  
 fœtorem Dominis ingerunt, gustare permitteris.

Crassis igitur illis, & nullo sapore conditis vteris

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Thy course dayly fare to thee is tedious.  
Nowe iudge Coridon if herein be pleasour,  
Me thinke it anguish, sorowe and dolour,  
Continuall care and vtter misery, 1025  
Affliction of heart, and wretched penury. B iv  
But many fooles thinke it is nothing so,  
While they see courtiers outwarde so gayly go.  
The coursers' seruauntes cloth, siluer and golde,  
And other like thinges delite they to beholde: 1030  
But nought they regarde the inward misery  
Which them oppresseth in court continually.  
And as saith Seneca, some count them fortunate,  
Which outwarde appere well clothed or ornate.  
But if thou behelde their inwarde wretchednes, 1035  
Their dayly trouble, their fruitlesse busynes:  
Then would thou count them both vile and miserable,  
Their rowme and office both false and disceyuable.  
For like as men paynt olde walles ruinous,

dapibus. In quibus si voluptas esset aliqua, cessaret  
tamen, quia continuæ sunt, & immutabiles:

*Namque voluptates (vt Iuuenalis affirmat)  
commendat rarior usus. (Sat II.)*

At in his rebus tantum deest, vt gaudium aliquod  
intercedat, vt malè iudicare non existimem, qui sum-  
mam in eis miseriam, summamque cordis afflictionem  
posuerit.

Sed stultum atque imperitum vulgus hæc tædia non  
animaduertit, solumque suspensas auro vestes, ac sub-  
limes respicit in equis milites. Et cum opes, argentum,  
aurum, famulorum cateruas, & ornatum exteriorum  
intuetur, miseras interiores nequaquam considerat. At  
Seneca, summa prudentia vir, Isti, inquit, quos pro  
felicibus aspicias, si non quæ cernuntur, sed quæ latent  
videritis, Miseri sunt, sordidi, turpes, ad similitudinem  
suorum parietum, extrinsecus culti.

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

So be they paynted, their life contrarious, 1040  
 And therefore all they which serue in court gladly  
 For taste or smelling, or spice of gluttony,  
 Haue life<sup>1</sup> more wretched then Burges or merchant,  
 Which with their wiues haue loue and life pleasant.  
 - Shepherdes haue not so wretched liues as they, 1045  
 Though they liue poorely on cruddes, chese and whey,  
 On apples, plummes, and drinke clere water deepe,  
 As it were lordes reigning among their sheepe.  
 The wretched lazar with clinking of his bell  
 Hath life which doth the courters life excell. 1050  
 The caytif begger hath meate and libertie,  
 When courters hunger in harde captiuitie.  
 The poore man beggeth nothing hurting his name,  
 As touching courters, they dare not beg for shame.  
 And an olde Prouerbe is sayde by men moste sage, 1055  
 That oft yonge courters be beggers in their age.  
 Thus all those wretches which do the court frequent,  
 Bring not to purpose their mindes nor intent.  
 But if their mindes and will were sariate,  
 They are not better thereby nor fortunate. 1060  
 Then all be fooles (concluding with this clause)  
 Which with glad mindes vse courting for such cause.

*Coridon*

Nowe truely Cornix, right plainly hast thou tolde

Quo fit, vt Curialibus, qui propter irritamenta gulæ,  
 Principibus seruiunt, nedū ciues priuatos, qui cum  
 iucunda cōinge, inter dulces liberos, castè ac parcè  
 comedunt; vel Ruricolas, qui medias inter oues, casta-  
 neas molles, & mitia poma, cum lacte, vorantes, nitidi  
 fluminis vndas exhauriunt; sed ipsos quoque, qui in  
 crepidinibus petrarum, vel in pontibus, vel ad Ecclesi-  
 arum valuas mendicant, sine cunctatione præponam.  
 Cum illis nec ex sententia succedat quod appetūt, nec,  
 si successerit, meliores propterea beatioresve fiant. Sunt  
 igitur omnes stulti, qui ob has causas in regium famu-

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Of court and courtiers the paynes manyfolde.  
And as I suppose there can no more remayne, 1065  
Thy wit and counsell hath rid me fro great payne.  
If I had plentie of treasure and riches,  
I should or I went rewarde thy busynes:  
But nede oft hurteth good maners commendable.

*Cornix*

What man would<sup>1</sup> gladly geue that is not able? 1070  
But one abounding in treasure and riches  
Is ware in geuing, or yet to make promes.  
Thy will is ynough sith that thy store is thin,  
I aske of the foxe no farther then the skin.<sup>2</sup>  
But longe is to night, therfore I shall gladly: 1075

*Coridon*

What, more yet declare of courtly misery?  
Thou haste tolde ynough by all these crosses ten  
Almoste for to choke vp<sup>3</sup> a thousand men.

*Cornix*

That I promised, right would I should fulfill,  
Yet more shall I touche if thou can holde thee still, 1080  
I saide first that some (but they be sown thin)  
Resort vnto the court, there soules for to win.  
For with great princes while suche men remayne,  
They thinke by counsell, by busynes and payne  
Chiefely to labour for the vtilitie 1085  
Of diuers causes touching the commontie.  
Poore men supporting, and children fatherlesse,  
And helping widowes also in their distresse,  
So much more wening to please our Lord therby,

latum sese recipiunt.

Cæterum cum ab initio dixerimus, quosdam esse,  
qui tanquam ANIMÆ consulturi, Regalibus sese de-  
dunt obsequijs (Existimant enim consulendo Regibus,  
vtilitatem Reip. promouendo, pupilli & viduarum tu-  
endo causas, afflictis & inopibus succurrendo, tanto  
magis Deo placere, quanto maiore tædio ista peragut)



*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Because they contende in payne and ieopardy. 1090  
Of these must I cure the mindes ignoraunt,  
Which be more fooles then all the remnaunt.  
All if they repute themselfe neuer so sage,  
Yet shall I proue them selues stuffed with dotage.

*Coridon*

Declare that Cornix, that fayne would I heare, 1095  
We haue time ynough, yet doth the sunne appere.

*Cornix*

Of this foresaide sort scant any finde we shall,  
But that requireth some lucre temporall:  
But neuerthelesse, now fayne we such a one  
Which seeketh in court for no promotion, 1100  
But onely intende there soules for to win,  
And as a champion to fight against sinne.  
Should wise men suppose in court so to preuayle?  
Lost is their labour, their study and trauayle.  
Or should a good man which loueth honestie 1105  
Put him in thraldome or in captiuitie  
Of princes seruice, his soule to win thereby?  
Say men what them list, me thinketh the contrary.  
For in court required, so many a sinne and vice,  
And so many wayes from vertue to attice, 1110  
And so many meanes leading to viciousnes,

---

respondendum est etiam his; Ne, qui stultiores sunt  
alijs, sapientiores omnibus videantur.

Quamuis neminē adhuc cognouerim, qui non suum  
aliquod temporale, commodum apud Reges insectare-  
tur: Fingamus tamen aliquem fore, quem sola salutis  
Animæ ratio moueat. An ita est, vt hoc in Curia sibi  
possit obtinere? Consulemusne nos viro bono, in obse-  
quio vt se Regis immergat? Putabimusne sic anima  
lucresieri? Mihi, hercule, non fit versimile, in Curijs  
Principum, vbi tot vitia regnant, vbi tot irritamenta ab  
exercitio virtutum subducunt, virum aliquem bonum  
posse perseuerare.

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

That there may a man scant bide in his goodnes.  
For as a bad horse resty and flinging,  
Oft casteth a man though he be well sitting:  
In like maner, wise man and rightwise<sup>1</sup> — 1115  
Resorting to court, descendeth vnto vice,  
All if his reason and wil<sup>2</sup> also deny,  
In court hath the fende such fraude and pollicie,  
By meane that vices haue there no punishment,  
For lust and suffraunce make mindes insolent. 1120  
But sinne and sinners lye dayly so in wayte  
Against good liuing to lay their deadly bayte,  
That the best liuers from way of grace decline,  
By their occasion impelled to ruine:  
He falleth in rockes and perill consequent 1125  
By force of tempest and windes violent.

*Coridon*

What man, in court is neither rocke nor sande,  
Diffusely thou speakest to vnderstande.

*Cornix*

I speake in parable, or by similitude,  
Who not perceaueth, his reason is but rude: 1130  
But mate Coridon, I tell thee before  
That what I shall say or yet haue close in store:  
Of diuers aucthours I learned of Codrus,  
And he it learned of Shepherde Siluius.  
This Codrus sayde that Plato the great sage<sup>2</sup> 1135  
Of Athens<sup>3</sup> court aduerting the outrage,  
Purposed<sup>4</sup> rather to flee to solitude,

---

Nanque vt Sessor bonus in equo retrogrado, vel cal-  
citroso excutietur, dilabaturque tandem; Sic vir bonus  
& iustus apud Reges diffluet; vel imminutus rerum  
licentia ac luxu, & tot immundicijs tum viciorum, tum  
hominum circumuentus, declinabit a via, & in scopulos  
ruet, ventorum viribus actus & tempestatu. Quod cum  
Plato in Atheniensi Curia perspexisset, fugere potius  
statuit, quam inter tot viciorum inquinamenta morari.

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Then liue in honour among such vices rude. ✓  
Then knowe well thy selfe whatsoeuer thou be ✓  
Which to sue the court haste thy felicitie. ✓ 1140  
And note if thy selfe be better then Plato, ✓  
Note well the power, if thou haue will also ✓  
As well as Plato, ill custome to refrayne, ✓  
If thou so thinkest, thou thinkest thing in vayne. ✓  
In court must a man sayle after euery winde, 1145  
Himselfe conforming to euery mans minde. ✓  
Serue euery season, conforme him to the time, ✓  
Be common with mo, though it be in some crime. ✓  
He must rule nature, and yet he<sup>t</sup> wot not whither, ✓  
After the season, nowe hither and nowe thither. 1150  
And in his maner he must direct his life,  
With heuy persons him must he shewe pensife. ✓  
With men at leasure which will them recreate,  
He must be iocunde after their vse and rate. ✓  
With aged persons he must him haue sadly, 1155  
With youth behaue him iocunde and meryly. ✓  
With auenterous men which seke on crueltie  
He must shewe him bolde<sup>2</sup> and of audacitie.  
With liuers beastly, insuing carnall lust,  
Liue lecherously forsooth he needes must. 1160  
And who so refuseth, then is his nature wronge,  
He shall not in the court rise nor continue longe. |  
But Coridon thou might obiect vnto me more,

Cognoscito igitur teipsum, qui sequi Curiam statuis,  
& an Platone sis maior, animaduertito; an virium plus  
tibi, quam illi sit, ad resistendum male consuetudini.  
Oportet in Curijs obsequi omnibus, cōmunicare quod  
habet, seruire temporibus, versare naturam, & tegere,  
Nec non teipsum huc & illuc torquere & flectere: Cum  
tristibus seuerē, cum remissis iucunde, cum senibus  
grauiter, cum iuuenibus comiter, cum facinorosis aud-  
acter, cum libidinis luxuriose viuere: quod nisi feceris,  
nec magnus in Curia, nec diuturnus esse poteris.

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

That the sayde Plato which fled from court before  
Came long while after, and was in seruice 1165  
Of Dionisius the tiraunt of Silice.

It is as thou sayest, but harken to the ende:  
This tirauntes vice while he did reprehende,  
All if the tiraunt counted<sup>1</sup> his name diuine,  
As vnder colour to folowe his doctrine, 1170  
The cruell tiraunt his malice to fulfill,

Solde this same Plato maugre his minde and will.  
But thus intreated was Plato not alone,  
The wrath of princes proued haue many one,  
And namely of such as wisest were ywis, 1175  
As Zenon muredred by tiraunt Phalaris:

His godly wisdom, nor honour of his age  
Could him not succoure, so did the tiraunt rage.  
Arracreontes (sometime of Cipres king)  
Slewe Anaxagoras for all his great cunning. 1180  
And by commaundement of Theodoricus  
Without all mercy was slayne<sup>2</sup> Boecius.

*Coridon*

These be farre matters, and thinges very olde.

*Cornix*

Euen such they be, as Codrus to me tolde.  
And yet many mo he counted to me playne 1185

- Sed replicabis mihi fortasse, illu ipsum Platonem,  
quem fugisse Curiam, superius scripsi, posterius tame  
ad Dionysium, Siciliæ Tyrannum, peruenisse; illique  
seruisse. Sic est, vt ais. Sed vide, quid obtigerit.  
Nanque vocatus ab illo, per doctrine speciem, cum Tyr-  
anni vicia corripuisset, Tyranni fraude venundatus est.

Nec is solus ex sapientibus iram Principis expertus  
est. Nam & Zenonem Philosophum, senem admodum  
Phalaris Tyrannus omni cruciatus genere dilacerauit.  
Anaxagoras nobilis Philosophus, ab Anacreunte,<sup>3</sup> Cy-  
priorum Rege, occisus est. Boëtius iussu Theodorici  
Regis interijt. Longa mora esset, si, quos viros bonos

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Of worthy clarkes, whom fell princes haue slayne. /  
But all to recount me thinke it is not best,  
That asketh leasure, the Sunne is nere at rest.  
Scant time remayneth to tell that is beside,  
Except we purpose here all the night abide. 1190

*Coridon*

Late at our Churche alley<sup>1</sup> syr Sampson to me tolde  
A tale of Moses and other Prophetes olde,  
Howe the same Moyses, and many of like sort /  
To Princes courtes did often time resort.  
He saide that Moses though he of tonge were rude. 1195  
Left his whole flocke behinde in solitude,  
And he with Aaron together both did go  
On Gods message vnto king Pharaos.  
Also syr Sampson recounted vnto me  
A like narration of Prophete Helise. 1200  
But Cornix, my minde is muche obliuious,  
And longe historyes to heare be tedious.

*Cornix*

As touching Moyses, and many Prophetes mo,  
I graunt they were wont to princes for to go:  
These men were godly, it folly were to say 1205  
That all men should haue such priuiledge as they.  
These were messengers of God of Israell,  
And finde can we not that they in court did dwell. /  
But when they had sayde Gods commaundement,  
They left both court and Princes incontinent. 1210  
Joseph alonely<sup>2</sup> abode with Pharaos,  
Thordinaunce of God had erst disposed so,

---

necari Principes iusserint, enumerare voluerim.

Nec mihi quispiam vel Moysen, vel Helyseum, vel  
alium quempiam Philosophorum commemorauerit;  
quasi et sibi liceat, quod viris diuinis permissum ex-  
titit. Nec enim cum Regibus illi manserunt, sed functi  
legatione, quam Deus eis mandauerat, abierunt. Solus  
Ioseph apud Pharaonem moratus est, quem ordinatio

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

To helpe his nation in time after to come  
 By his prouision and maruelous wisdomē.  
 I graunt thee also Mauricius and Martine, 1215  
 Sebastian, George and other men diuine  
 Serued in court, and vsed chualry,  
 And neuerthesse they liued holyly.  
 But this Mauricius did christned become,  
 And with his legion receyued martirdome. 1220  
 Likewise Saynt George and Saynt Sebastian  
 Despising ydoles which courtes vsed then,  
 Suffered harde death by manifolde torment,  
 For loue and true fayth of God omnipotent.  
 But during the time, these did in the court remayne, 1225  
 No names of Saintes men gaue to them certayne.  
 And holy Martin when he was come to age  
 Gaue ouer the court, and fixed his courage  
 In Gods seruice, remayning stedfastly,  
 For he perceyued and knewe right perfittly, 1230  
 That of poore widowes and children fatherlesse,  
 The cause not entreth into the court doubtlesse,  
 Their matters quealeth, for solde is all Iustice,  
 And euery speeche of ribaudry and vice:  
 Also in courtes of mercy found is nought, 1235  
 And of religion no zeale if it were sought.  
 Enuy posseseth the place of charitie  
 Onely ambition hath there auctoritie.

diuina, pro salute populi, illuc transmiserat, et venundatio fraterna. Fatebor & Mauricius & Martinum militasse, ac Principibus seruiuisse; sed ille quamprimum Christianus cognitus est, cum tota mox legione Thebea truncatus est capite: Hic vt vir factus est, & regia castra dimisit, & in obsequium Dei se sequestrauit. Sciebat enim vir sanctus quia pupillorum & viduarum caussa ad Principes non egrediuntur. Quia nunquam apud Reges caussa pauperum defenditur; quia venalis est omnis Iusticia; quia impudicus est omnis sermo, quia nulla misericordia, nullus Religionis Zelus, nulla caritas,

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

These vices to resist passeth humane doctrine,  
Man they ouercome, except wisdomē diuine. 1240  
If God do not succoure, it passeth mans might,  
With such occasion continually to fight.  
This knewe Saint Martin by sight continually,  
Yet nought him moued by helpe celestially.  
And though he liued in court right holyly, 1245  
He would no lenger insue that chivalry:  
Nor leaue example to other men to come,  
To liue where reyneth no vertue nor wisdomē.  
As when it was asked of Christ our Sauour,  
What should a man do of penaunce or labour, 1250  
Or other deedes to win eternall blisse,  
He bad<sup>t</sup> not a man runne to the court wysse,  
He saide not: go folowe a prince, or Lorde or King,  
But go sell thy riches and other wordly thing:  
Despise all the world and worldly vanitie, 1255  
For so haue I done, then come and folowe me.  
In this cause our Lorde hath made no mention  
Of folowing the court for vayne promotion.  
Then let men take heede though they be vertuous,  
Least while they folowe a thing so perillous, 1260  
In court supposing their soules for to win,  
Least there they lose them by falling into sinne,

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sed inuidia & ambitio tantummodo dominatur. Quibus  
obsistere, fortissimi fuerit, & plus diuina quam humana  
sapientia.

Et quamuis esset Martinus ipse sanctissimus, posset-  
que sua virtute superare maliciam; amplius tamen  
militiam nec per se voluit sequi, nec alijs imitandam suo  
exemplo demonstrare.

Nec Saluator noster CHRISTVS, interrogatus quid  
faciendu esset, ad vitam consequendam, vade dixit, &  
Regibus seruito: Sed vade, inquit, & vende omnia, que  
habes, & sequere me: non Principem, non Regem,  
sed me; non Curiam, sed me inquam sequere.

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

For there be snares and giles infinite,  
The fende is ready occasion to excite.  
In euery corner some enuy shalt thou mete, 1265  
And stumbling stones lye hid before thy fete.  
Full harde it is there ambition to refrayne,  
Auarice to slake it is a great payne.  
To tame enuy, and wrath to mitigate,  
And in occasion vnclenlynes to hate. 1270  
Harde is it dayly to be amonge these same,  
And none of them all thy pleasure to inflame.  
But if there be any which can his lust subdue,  
Amonge all vices to kepe them in vertue,  
As a precious stone cleane in the middes of mire, 1275  
Or lye in flames not griued with the fire:  
Or touche soft pitche and not his fingers file.  
If such one be founde within a thousand mile,  
I will not denye but that he may well sue  
After court, and folowe, not hurting his vertue: 1280  
So much more merite shall such a man procure,  
Howe much more he doth of ieopardie indure.  
But this is my minde and sure opinion,  
That such as resort vnto the court eche one  
Be rather ouercome by sinne and viciousnes, 1285  
Then they can vices vanquish and repres:

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Videas igitur tibi, vir bone, qui propter Animā se-  
queris Curiam, ne propter Curiam illam perdas: quia  
multi sunt ibi laquei, multa offendicula, multę insidie  
Demonum. Durū est ambitionem frenare, auariciam  
compescere, inuidiam domare, iram cohibere, luxuriam  
coartare, dū semper inter ista verseris.

Si quis tamen a Deo sibi creditum talentum nouit,  
vincere vt ista possit; & tanquam Sol immaculatus in  
luto versari; Si potest picem tangere, & ab ea non in-  
quinari; si potest ignē ingredi & non vri: non illum  
Curiam sequi prohibeo. Nam meritum tanto grandius  
assequetur quanto periculosius militauit. Sed persua-



*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

For man of his nature is apt to sinne and vice,  
And with great hardnes doth vertue exercise.  
Example of children, which if they haue their will  
Be lesse disposed to goodnes then to ill. B v 1290  
I heard Minalcas sing this vnto his drone,  
That Scripture sayth that mankinde is [more] prone,<sup>t</sup>  
In youth and age his pleasure to insue,  
In easy lustes then hardnes of vertue.  
Therefore I counsell thy selfe my Coridon, 1295  
Amintas, Codrus and shepherdes eche one.  
And all of other men which will them saue fro hell,  
That none of them all presume with court to mell.  
For there is the soule in ieopardie by crime,  
And after life is lost by surfet or due time. 1300  
And eyther must a man vnto his prince assent,  
Laugh at his vices and be with them content.  
Then lost is thy soule, els his faultes blame,  
Then shalt thou his ire against thee inflame.  
As Cirus the King sometime of Persy lande 1305  
Had one Arpolus chiefe frende of a thousand:  
Because Arpolus once blamed his offence,  
The wrathful tiraunt by mad maliuolence  
Caused Arpolus vnwarely at a feaste  
To eate his children as they like meate were drest. 1310

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sum est mihi, neminem esse, qui Curiæ seruiendo non  
potius vincatur a vicijs, quam vicia vincat. Dociles imi-  
tandis, vt Iuuenalis verba recenseam, turpibus ac prauis  
omnes sumus.

In Genesi quoque diuinum Oraculum est in hunc  
modum: *Sensus & cogitatio humani Cordis, in malum prona  
sunt ab adolescentia sua.* Non suaserim igitur vlli in Curijs  
immodum. Nam & Anima, vt dixi, discrimini magno  
supponitur, & vita sepe ante tempus amittitur. Quoniam  
vel Principum desiderio fauebis, ac vltro suis vicijs arri-  
debis, & animam perdidisti: vel increpabis malos mores,  
accusabisque scelera; & inde iram Principis experieris.

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

And thus Arpolus to his children was a graue:  
For blaming thy prince such reward mayest thou haue.  
Right so Cambises in hastie furour slewe  
The sonne of his frend which was to him most true,  
Because that his frende him blamed for dronkennes. 1315  
Of such examples be many mo doubtlesse.

*Coridon*

I haue heard Codrus oft times testify  
Howe Aristotle prince of Philosophy  
Sued the tentes with laude and honour  
Of Alexander the mighty conqueror. 1320

*Cornix*

Thou litle knowest what caused him do so,  
Or if he freely had libertie to go,  
Truely I suppose it was against his heart  
And that he might not at libertie depart.  
But many other right worthy hye honour 1325  
Also insued<sup>t</sup> that mightie conquerour.  
As Calistenes of hye discretion,  
And also Crito, which was his nurses sonne.  
And bolde Lichimachus folowed him in fight,  
Which was a Philosopher and eke a worthy Knight. 1330  
And many mo els that I can count or tell:  
But heare Coridon what vnto these befell.

Cyrus, Persarum Rex, Arpalo familiari suo, admodum ante caro, ob reprehensum in se vicium, filios epulandos in conuiuio dedit. Cambyses eiusdem ex Carissimis, qui se de ebrietate corripuerat filiu sagitta transfixit. Nec tu mihi Aristotelem obijcias, summum Philosophum, Alexandri Magni castra sequentem. Nescis enim qua voluptate hoc egerit, & an sibi libertas fuerit aliter faciendi.

At secuti sunt Alexandrum complures alij: Calisthenes Philosophus, Clitus frater collectaneus, Lysimachus miles, & Philosophus insignis. Calisthenes dum adorari more Persico Alexandrum prohibet, trun-

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

For that Calistenes forbad men to honour  
Great Alexander as God of moste valour, X  
After such custome as was in Persy lande,  
Therefore had he cut from body foote and hande, \ 1335  
His nose and eares off trenched were also,  
His eyne out digged for to increase his wo:  
Then by commaundement of the conquerour  
Was thrust into prison to bide in more dolour, 1340  
Enduring his life there euer to remayne:  
But when Lisimachus for to make short this payne,  
Reached him poyson, his cruell conquerour  
Made him be throwen to lyons to deuour.  
And at a banket (as erst was touched playne) 1345  
By Alexander was the saide Crito slayne,  
For blaming of him, because that he did blame  
His fathers deedes, Philippus by his name.  
Therefore Coridon, after my iudgement,  
And as I beleue, thou wilt thereto assent. 1350  
They all be fooles which sue to court so sore,  
For all such causes as touched are before.  
Or to win soules be there content to serue,  
Their owne soule putting in daunger for to sterue:  
For eyther do they seeke and hunt about in vayne, 1355

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catis manibus & pedibus, effossis oculis, & auribus amputatis, misera vitam in carcere ducere cogeatur. Cui cum Lysimachus, in remedium ærumnarum, venenum obtulisset, Leoni obiectus est. Clito, cum Alexandrum, Philippi patris laudibus detrahentem, redarguisset, ab eodem, vt supra retuli, in conuiuio est occisus.

Sunt igitur stulti, meo iudicio; &, vt arbitror, tuo Iohannes amantissime, & qui propter superiores causas, & qui propter Animæ lucrum, seruitia Principum amplectuntur. Quoniam, vel quod quærunt, non inueniunt, vel per viam spinosam & ancipitem pergunt; Cum ad finem, quem cupiunt, tutissimis possint, & quietissimis itineribus proficisci.

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

And their desires there shall they not obtayne,  
Or that thing they seeke, which shall do them damage,  
Els be they thrown in suche a blinde dotage,  
That of two wayes they chose moste ieopardous,  
All full of thornes and busynes perillous, 1360  
All if they might well to their desire attayne  
By way more easy, more short and voyde of payne.

*Coridon*

O maruelous matter, and well brought to an ende,  
I can not be able thy reason to commende,  
Nor yet to rewarde the thing that thou haste done, 1365  
Though I had riches and wit like Salomon.  
Thou haste me saued by counsell sapient  
Out of hell mouth and manyfolde torment.  
But nowe is it time to drawe to our cotage,  
The day is ended, right so is our language. 1370

FINIS

Thus endeth the seconde Egloge of the misery of  
courtes and courtiers.

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Esset ergo iam satisfactum his, quæ ab initio proposuimus; possemque iam Epistolam claudere; sed sunt adhuc aliæ quâplures molestiæ Curialium, de quibus nō erit ab re, quam breuiter meminisse.

Here beginneth the thirde and last Egloge of the  
misery and behauour of Court and Courtiers.

*Coridon*

**A**fter sore labour sweete rest is delectable,  
And after long night day light is comfortable,  
And many wordes requireth much drinke,  
The throte wel washed, then loue the eyn to wink.  
This night with me it proued otherwise, 5  
I dranke to bedwarde (as is my common gise:)  
But suche rest had I till it was on the morne,  
As had my mother the night that I was borne.

*Cornix*

Of that I maruayle, for thou art wont alway  
To sleepe and to snort till time that it be day. 10  
But howe happened this, nowe tell me Coridon,  
That thou had this night so sore vexation.

*Coridon*

I was so drenched with dreames, a dread so sore,  
I trowe neuer man was troubled so before.  
Me thought in the court I taken was in trap, 15  
And there sore handled, God geue it an ill hap.  
Me thought the scullians like fendes of their lookes  
Came some with whittels,<sup>1</sup> some other with fleshhokes.  
Me thought that they stooode eche one about me thicke  
With kniues ready for to flay me quicke. 20  
So had I (sleeping) as much of feare and dreade,  
As I should (waking) haue lost my skin in deede.  
With such a vision I troubled was all night,  
Wherefore I ioyed what time I sawe day light.  
For as soone as euer I heard the birdes peepe, 25  
For feare of dreames no lenger durst I sleepe:  
But start fro my bed, as lightly was I prest,<sup>2</sup>  
Almoste as a birde out flyeth<sup>3</sup> from her nest.  
So caught I my male, my bottell<sup>4</sup> and my hooke,  
And forth with my flocke anone my way I tooke. 30  
But tell me Cornix I pray thee heartyly,

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

What thing this my dreame may note and signify.

*Cornix*

I drede least some one fulfilled with ill will  
Hath heard our talking, and it reported ill.  
Which may vs after cause rather weepe then sing, 35  
For ill will maketh the worst of euery thing.  
But then doth one thing well comfort me agayne,  
Forst men are wont of that to dreame certayne  
Wherewith their mindes in walking troubled be:  
A strawe for dreames, they be but vanitie. 40  
And as for me, I no man discommende,  
If scabbed<sup>1</sup> clawe, the truth shall me defende.  
But how Coridon, thy head is in thy lap,  
What nowe so early beginnest thou to nap?

*Coridon*

Who hath not slept nor rested all the night 45  
Must slepe by day, els shall his brayne be light.  
But Cornix, if thou list me for to keepe and wake,  
Talke of some matters agayne for Gods sake.  
For so shall the time ouerpasse with litle payne,  
God knoweth when we shall mete after agayne, 50

*Cornix*

I graunt Coridon for recreation  
Of court yet to haue more communication.

*Coridon*

All misery of court thou haste already tolde.

*Cornix*

Nay nay Coridon, not by a thousande folde:  
We shall haue matter nere till this yeres ende 55  
To talke of Courtes, if I might it intende.  
But this one day of part well may we talke,  
As for the other I force not, let it walke.

*Coridon*

Then sit downe Cornix, leane here against this banke,  
As for our talking, we get but litle thanke. 60

*Cornix*

We get as muche almoste<sup>2</sup> as we deserue,

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

I looke for no thanke, nor meate though I should sterue,  
In court shall men finde yet many paynes mo,  
Some shall I touche, let all the other go.  
Because that of sleeping was our<sup>1</sup> first commoning, 65  
Heare nowe what paynes haue courtiers in sleeping.  
They oftentime sleepe full wretchedly in payne,  
And lye all the night forth in colde winde and rayne.  
Sometime in bare strawe, on bordes, ground or stones,  
Till both their sides ake, and all their bones. 70  
And when that one side aketh and is wery,  
Then turne the other, lo here a remedy.  
Or els must he rise and walke him selfe a space,  
Till time his ioyntes be settled in their place.  
But if it be fortune thou lye within some towne 75  
In bed of fethers, or els of easy downe.  
Then make thee ready for flyes and for gnattes,  
For lise, for fleas, punaises,<sup>2</sup> mise and rattes.  
These shall with biting, with stinking, din and sound  
Make thee worse easement then if thou lay on ground. 80  
And neuer in the court shalt thou haue bed alone,  
Sawe when thou wouldest moste gladly lye with one.  
Thy shetes shalbe vnclene, ragged and rent,  
Lothly vnto sight, but lothlyer to cent.  
In which some other departed late before 85  
Of the pestilence, or of some other sore.  
Such a bedfelowe men shall to thee assigne,

**P**lurima inter DORMIENDVM sunt tædia. Sæpe  
in asseribus dormiendum est; in paleis; in lapidibus,  
nudoque solo, in vento, in pluuiâ, in frigoribus. Si  
plumas fueris assecutus, ad Pediculos, Pulices, Culices,  
& alias infinitas vel mordentes, vel teterrime fœtentes  
bestiolas te præpara.

Nunquam solus dormies, nisi cum socium cuperes.  
Linteamina immunda, fœtida, lacerata & quibus nuper-  
ime pestilentia sunt mortui, tibi dabuntur.

Comes adiungetur scabiosus, qui se tota nocte fricabit.

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

That it was better to slepe among the swine.  
So foule and scabbed, of harde pimples so thin,  
That a man might grate hard crustes on his skin. 90  
And all the night longe shall he his sides grate,  
Better lye on grounde then lye with such a mate.  
One cougheth so fast, anothers breath doth stinke,  
That during the night scant mayest thou get a winke.  
Sometime a leper is signed to thy bed, 95  
Or with other sore one grievously bested.  
Sometime thy bedfelowe is colder then is yse,  
To him then he draweth thy cloathes with a trice.  
But if he be hote, by feuers then shall he  
Cast all the cloathes and couerlet on thee. B vj 100  
Eyther is thy felowe alway to thee grievous,  
Or els to him art thou alway tedious.<sup>1</sup>  
And sometime these courtiers them more to incumber,  
Slepe all in one chamber nere twenty in number.  
Then it is great sorowe for to abide their shoute, 105  
Some fart, some flingeth, and other snort and route.  
Some boke, and some bable, some commeth dronk to bed,  
Some braule and some iangle when they be beastly fed.  
Some laugh, and some crye, eche man will haue his wil,  
Some spue, and some pisse, not one of them is still. 110  
Neuer be they still till middes of the night,  
And then some brawleth and for their beddes fight.  
And oft art thou signed to lodge nere the stable,

Alius tussitabit, alius fœtido flatu te perurgebit. Interdum & leprosus tibi coniacebit. Alius frigidus est, & vestimenta ad se rapit; Alius Febre calidus, & lodicem cum omni tegmento supra te iacit. Semper vel ille tibi molestus erit, vel tu illi videberis tædiosus.

Dormitur frequenter in cōmuni, vbi vel X. vel XX. sunt, vbi vnus stertit, alter p̄dit; alius calceos iactitat: nunquam ante medium noctis est silentium. Veniunt Ebrij dormitum, confabulantur, garriunt, raptant, rixantur, pugnant, & se inuicem cædunt: Surgunt



*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Then there shalt thou heare of rascolde a rable.  
Sometime shalt thou heare howe they eche other smite, 115  
The neying of the<sup>1</sup> horses, and howe eche other bite.  
Neuer shalt thou knowe thy lodging or thy nest,  
Till all thy betters be settled and at rest.  
In Innes lie straungers and gestes many one,  
Of courtiers liues make there conclusion. 120  
And where they be knowen of neither man or wife,  
Oft time Courtiers there ende their wretched life.  
Then shall the hostler be their executour,  
Or such other ribaude shall that was his deuour.  
Making the Tapster come gay and feate, 125  
His shirt, his doublet or bonet to excheate,  
For fleshe that he bought and payde nought therefore,  
Then is she extreame, for he shal come no more.  
But in a common In if that thou lodge or lye,  
Thou neuer canst lay<sup>2</sup> vp thy gere so priuily, 130  
But eyther it is stollen or chaunged with a thought,  
And for a good thou haste a thing of nought.  
For some arrant<sup>3</sup> thieues shall in the chamber lye,  
And while thou sleepest they rise shall priuily:  
All if thou thy pouche vnder thy pillowe lay, 135  
Some one crafty searcher thereat shall haue assay.  
Baudes and brothels, and flattering tapsters,  
Lugglers and pipers, and scuruy wayfarers.<sup>4</sup>

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mingentes. Sæpe apud stabula sunt cubicula tua, & equos fremitantes, vel se mordentes audis. Nunquam scies, vbi iacere debeas, nisi Domini dormitum iuerint.

Sunt in diuersorijs multi Aduene, multi ignoti; & vita Curialium plærunque in hospitij publicis statuitur: vbi continuo fures timendi, vel formidandi sicarij sunt: neque res tuas vnquam tam diligenter custodies, quin aliquid detractum reperias. Nam & ipsi fures in thalamo tuo dormient, & te sopito assurgent, resque tuas sub te quoque iacentes eripient.

Assunt Meretrices, Ancillæ, Lenones, Ioculatores,

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Flatterers and hostlers, and other of this sect  
Are busy in thy chamber, chatting with none effect. 140  
With brauling they enter first pagiant to play,<sup>1</sup>  
That nought mayest thou here what wiser men do say.  
Such is their shouting that scantly thou mayst here,  
The secrete felowe, which by thy side is nere.  
But rurall flimmers,<sup>2</sup> and other of our sort 145  
Unto thy lodging, or court when they resort,  
They chat, they bable, and all but of the wombe,  
More pert and more pieuish then they wold be at home.  
Though thou would slepe, induring all the night,  
Some sing, some mourne, their lemman out of sight. 150  
Some sing of Bessy, and some of Nan or cate,  
Namely when licour disturbed hath the pate.  
The brothell<sup>3</sup> boteman and wretched laborer  
Ceasse not to singe, be vitayle neuer so dere.  
Who can with such haue quietnes or rest, 155  
But if thou with slepe at last be opprest,  
And that sore labours to sleepe thee constrayne,  
Rumour thee rayseth, and wakeneth agayne.  
On morning when thou might sleepe moste quietly,  
Then must thou arise there is no remedy. 160

Lusores, Parasiti, qui iurgia continuo proludunt: tantusque clamor exoritur, vt nedum dormire, sed nec qui prope te est loquentem socium intelligere queas. Adde loquacitatem eorum, qui nocte, quam longa est, nunquam quiescunt.

*Absentem cantat amicam, vt Flacus ait,  
Multa prolutus vappa Nauta atque viator.  
(Horatius Sat. 5.)*

Nulla dormienti quies datur. Quod si vnquā rumores & alia mala, somnus vinceret, ac oculos clandestine cœperis; è vestigio reuocaberis, & aliquo casu surgere compelleris. Credo te ista millies expertum, ideoque sum breuior.

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

For what time thy Lorde vnto his horse is prest,  
Then ought no seruaunt lye in his bed at rest.

*Coridon*

Nowe Cornix I see that with a brauling wife  
Better were to bide continuung my life,  
And to heare children crying on euery side 165  
Then thus in the court this clamour to abide.

*Cornix*

No doubt Coridon, but heare more misery,  
Which in their lodging haue courtiers commonly.  
Men must win the marshall or els herbegere,  
With price or with prayer, els must thou stand arere. 170  
And rewarde their knaues must thou if thou be able,  
For to assigne thee a lodging tollerable.  
And though they promise, yet shall they nought fulfill,  
But poynt the place nothing after thy will.  
Eyther nere a priuy, a stable or a sinke, 175  
For cent and for clamour where thou can haue no wink.  
After thy rewarde they shall thee so manace,  
That malgre<sup>1</sup> thy teeth thou must resigne thy place.  
And that to some one which is thy enemy,  
If they be pleased there is no remedy. 180  
But yet for certayne it were thing tollerable  
To becke and to bowe to persons honorable.  
As to the marshall, or yet the herbeget,  
Or gentle persons which vnto them be nere.

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Sed alia accipe, quæ inter HOSPITANDVM sunt  
tēdia. Mareschallus orandus est, ac precio conducendus;  
rogandique serui eius, & alliciendi muneribus, vt hos-  
pitium tibi tolerabile præbeant. Quod si promiserint,  
non tamen implebunt: teque vel in remotissimis locis,  
vel in fœtidissimis Ganeis collocabunt. Interdum &  
honestum locum, quem dedit, vt deseras, & alteri cedas,  
minis & vi coget.

Sed esset tolerabile fortasse, Mareschallo caput in-  
flectere, cuius est officium non inhonestum; at sordidos

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But this is a worke, a trouble and great payne, 185  
Sometime must thou stoupe vnto a rude vilayne.  
Calling him master, and oft clawe<sup>1</sup> his hande,  
Although thou would see him wauer<sup>2</sup> in a bande.  
For if thou liue in court, thou must rewarde this rable,  
Cooke and scoliens, and farmers of the stable. 190  
Butlers and Butchers, prouenders and Bakers,  
Porters and poulers,<sup>3</sup> and specially false takers.  
On these and all like spare must thou none expence,  
But mekely with mede bye their beneuolence.  
But namely of all it is a grieuous payne 195  
To abide the porter, if he be a vilayne.  
Howe often times shall he the gates close  
Against thy stomake, thy forehead or thy nose.  
Howe oftentimes when thy<sup>4</sup> one fote is in  
Shall he by malice thrust thee out by the<sup>5</sup> chin. 200  
Sometime his staffe,<sup>6</sup> sometime his clubbishe feete  
Shal driue thee backward, and turne thee to the streete.  
What he then sayth, comming if he sit,<sup>7</sup>  
Howe often times shall he the gates shit.  
For very pleasure and ioy of thy comming 205  
The gate he closeth,<sup>8</sup> lo here a pleasaunt thing.  
All if thou haste well rewarded him before,  
Without thou standest in rayne and tempest sore.  
And in the meane time a rascolde or vilayne  
Shall enter while thou art bathed in the rayne.<sup>9</sup> 210

homines sequi, atque his supplicare, & offere pecuniam,  
grauissimum est. Nec tamen hoc potes effugere. Nam  
& Coquis, & Pistoribus, & Frumentarijs, & bladi vini-  
que distributoribus, humiliare te conuenit, & ipsorum  
beneuolentiam emere. Quid Ostiarium referam? Heu  
quoties ille vlnas in pectus detrudet tuum? quoties te  
pugno, vel calce repellet? quoties, vbi te viderit venien-  
tem, portam, que patebat, statim concludet? Quoties te  
excluso, quamuis aurum dederis, vel Mimum, vel Scur-  
ram, vel Æmulum tuum intromittet? Quoties tibi vel

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Sometime the porter his malice shall excuse,  
And say vnto thee thy labour to abuse:  
That eyther is the Lorde asleepe or in counsell,  
Then lost is thy labour, mispent is thy trauell.

*Coridon*

Of our poore houses men soone may knowe the gin,<sup>1</sup> 215  
So at our pleasure we may go out and in.  
If courtes be suche, me thinketh without doubt,  
They best be at ease which so remayne without.  
For better be without wet to the skin with rayne,  
Then euer in court and liue in endlesse payne. 220  
For if hell gates did not still open gape,  
Then wretched soules great torment should escape.  
Right so, if the court were close continually,  
Some men should escape great payne and misery.  
But Cornix procede, tell on of courtiers care. 225

*Cornix*

Well sayde Coridon, God geue thee well to fare.  
Nowe would I speake of paynes of the warre,  
But that me thinketh is best for to defarre.<sup>2</sup>  
For if thy lorde in battayle haue delite  
To sue the warre be paynes infinite. 230  
For while he warreth thou mayest not bide at home,  
Thy lust to cherishe, and pleasure of thy wombe.  
To sue an army then haste thou wretched payne  
Of colde or of heate, of thirst, hunger and rayne.  
And mo other paynes then I will specify, 235  
For nought is in warfar saue care and misery:  
Murder and mischief, rapines and cowardise,  
Or els crueltie, there reigneth nought but vice,  
Which here to recounthe were longe and tedious,  
And to our purpose in parte contrarious. 240  
Therefore let passe the warres misery,  
The dredefull daungers and wretched penury,

dormire Principem, vel in consilio esse, vel ægrotare  
mentitur.<sup>3</sup>.....

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And of these Cities talke we a worde or twayne,  
In which no man can liue auoyde of payne,  
For whither soeuert<sup>1</sup> he court remoue or flit 245  
All the vexations remoue alway with it.  
If thou for solace vnto the towne resorte,  
There shalt thou mete of men as bad a sorte,  
Which at thy clothing and thee shall haue disdayne,  
If thou be busy the club shall do thee payne, 250  
There be newe customes and actes in like wise,  
None mayst thou scorne, nor none of them despise,  
Then must thou eche day begin to liue anewe.  
[And do as they do, be it false or trew.\*]  
As for in Cities I will no more remayne, 255  
But turne my talking nowe to the court agayne,  
After of this may we haue communication  
Of cities and of their vexation.<sup>3</sup>  
Whether that thy lorde sit or yet stande erect  
Still muste thou stande or els shalt thou be chekt, 260  
Thy head and legs shall finde no rest nor ease:  
If thou in court intende alway to please  
Oft muste thou becke, still stande and euer bare  
To worse then thy selfe, which is a payne and care.  
What shall I common the pensiuenes and payne 265  
Of courtiers or they their wages can obtayne,  
Howe much differing and how much abating

Sed redeamus iam in Vrbes: simus in amplo, spacio-  
soque loco: quiescat Curia; deeruntne propterea cru-  
ciatus? An non fient indies noua edicta, & constitu-  
tiones nouae? quibus vt te coaptas, singulis diebus de  
noue incipies viuere. Siue Rex sedeat, siue stet, tibi  
tamen semper erit standum, nec vllam tuis tibijs poteris  
dare quietem: sique nonnunquam sedes, temerarius indi-  
caberis. Quid vero in STIPENDIIS exigendis? quanta  
morositas, quantaque diminutio est? Nunquam in tem-  
pore datur, nunquam integrum; nunc ad istum, nunc ad

\*From Humphrey Powell's edition.

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Must courtiers suffer, and manifolde checking,  
Neuer hast thou the whole, sometime shall they abate,  
Or els shall the day of payment be to late, 270  
From Robert to Iohn sometime they shall thee sende,  
And then none of both to paye thee may intende,  
From poste vnto piller tossed shalt thou be,<sup>1</sup>  
Scorned and blinded with fraude and subtiltie.  
Some mayst thou beholde sighing for great sorowe 275  
When he is appoynted to come agayne to morowe,  
For many a morowe hath he bene serued so:  
Another standeth his heart replete with wo,  
Counting and turning the grotes in his cap,  
Praying God to sende the payer an ill<sup>2</sup> hap, 280  
For where he reckned for to receyue a pounce  
Scant hath he halfe, suche checkes be there founde,  
Neuer shall the courtier receyue whole salary  
Except that he rewarde the payer priuily.  
When nede constrayneth somewhat to haue before, 285  
He gladly receyueth a dosen for a score,  
Neuer canst thou make thy couenaunt so cleare  
But that the payer shall bring thee far areare,  
All if thou right well thy couenaunt fulfill  
It shall the payer interprete at his will, 290  
For all that blinde sorte are choked with auarice,  
As catchers<sup>3</sup> of coyne ensuing couetise,  
But sometime<sup>4</sup> to speake of thinges necessary,  
These do all courtiers cares multiply,  
Nowe for one thing they labour to obtayne, 295

illum remitteris, diuersisque mendacijs eludêris.<sup>5</sup>.....  
Nunquam stipendia recipiunt, nisi distributorem donauerint. Nec vllus est qui tam clara conuentionis sue capitula faciat, vt ad voluntatem Officialium non recipiant interpretationem, qui sunt omnis auri corrasores.

Sed iam de NECESSARIIS aliquid dicamus, qui & ipsi Curialium tormēta exaugent, nunc hoc, nunc illud impetrari sibi petentes; Et siue durum sit, siue absur-

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Nowe for another, and often all in vayne,  
And though their asking be neyther right ne iust,  
Yet neuer stint they till they haue had their lust.  
But if it fortune their prayer and their cost  
Be spent in vayne, then is their reason lost, 300  
Then lurke they in corners for a month or twayne  
For wo that their labour and prayer was in vayne.  
Some with their princes so stande in fauour  
That they may aduaunce their kinred to honour,  
But then is their kinred so bad of gouernaunce, 305  
That al if they may they dare not them aduaunce,  
But howbeit they durst they dread of worldly shame,  
Or punishment of God, or els their princes blame.

*Coridon*

Nowe doubtles Cornix that man is muche vnwise  
Which lifteth fooles vnworthy to office, 310  
But oftetime fauour and carnall affection  
Abuseth the right, blinding discretion.

*Cornix*

If thou hadst mused a yere for this one clause  
Thou could not haue said more perfetly the cause.  
Beside this Coridon fewe, by the lorde aboue, 315  
Haue of these courtiers true, sure and perfite loue,  
For Codrus tolde me what writeth Isocrate,  
That all these princes and euery great estate  
In louing regarde no vertue nor prudence,  
None loue they but of some hastie violence, 320

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dum, quod optant, tamē impetrare te volunt. Quidam  
potentes sunt, qui ex gratia Principis promouere Pro-  
pinquos possent, sed tales sunt eius consanguinei, vt vel  
eis benefacere non audeat, vel, si audeat, infamiam  
populi, & indignationem supra se Dei sustineat.

Quid? quod amorem in se Principis nemo verum  
assequitur? Namque, vt Isocrates in eo quem de regno  
scripsit libro testatur, Principes neminem, nisi incon-  
sulto quodam impetu diligunt: Quod si quem amant,



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Without aduisement, without discretion,  
Suche loue ofte proueth faynt at conclusion.  
But if they loue any they loue him not as frende,  
Betwene like and like best frendship shall we finde.  
For truely great lordes loue suche men with delite, 325  
By them when they take some pleasour or profite,  
As they loue horses, dogges, and mo suche,  
What saide I, I lye, they loue them not so muche:  
More loue they a horse or dogge then a man,  
Aske of Minalcas, the truth declare he can. 330  
For commonly as sone as any man is dead  
Another is soone ready for to fulfill his stead,  
With mede and with prayer his place is dearely bought  
So oft haue princes their seruice cleare for nought:  
But then if it fortune a dogge or horse to dye, 335  
His place to fulfill another muste they by.  
Yet little haue I saide, worse in the court they fare,  
Not onely thy lorde shall for thy death nought care,  
For thy longe seruice ofte shall he wishe thee dead,  
Suche is in court thy salary and thy mede. 340  
Eyther for thy seruice longe and continuall  
Thou haste of thy lorde receyued nought at all,  
And when thou art dead with short conclusion,  
Then quite<sup>r</sup> is thy seruice and obligation,

*non vt amicum diligunt: Inter pares enim amicitia versatur: sed eo modo amant, quo & Canes, & Equos diligunt, fructu vt exinde suscipiant. Quid dixi? erravi. Certe multo plus equus, aut canis, quam homo, diligitur. Mortuo quippe viro, mox vir alius adest, qui locū defuncti magnis precibus sibi dimitti postulat. At Canis, vel Equi, mortui vicem non supplebit alius, nisi vel emptus precio, vel gratia.*

*Parum adhuc dixi: cum nedum non dolenda, sed optanda mors tua Principi sit, qui diutius seruisti. Aut enim pro longis obsequijs non te remunerauit, & soluitur obligatio morte tua, dulceque suo ex ore*

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And ofte shall thy lorde sounde swetely foorth this A 345  
A that this man so sone is gone away,  
If he had liued longer a small season  
I should haue put him to great promotion:  
Or els if thy lorde haue well rewarded thee,  
That thou haste liuelod and riches in plentie, 350  
Then if thou dye beleue me for certayne,  
He surely trusteth to haue all agayne:  
Scant any riche man by death hence now shall fare  
But that some great lorde will loke to be his heyre.

*Coridon*

That is no leasing but proued often true, 355  
That caused' widowes oftentimes sore to rewe,  
But this hath bene sene forsooth and euer shall,  
That the greater fishe deuoureth vp the small.

*Cornix*

A right true example mate Coridon doubtlesse,  
So mightie rulers the simple folke oppresse. 360  
But what care in court is, nowe heare me Coridon,  
Concerning thy lorde or masters owne person:  
Of princes or commons thou findest seldome time,  
One parfitely good and spotted with no crime,  
For all suche thinges as seldome time befall - 365  
Tully was wont them monsters for to call,  
Then is a good man more monster in dede,  
Then is a wether hauing a double head.  
And in likewise rehearseth Iuuenall, ~

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sonabit: *Ah, si mortuus non fuisset homo ille, magnis eum muneribus donassem.* Aut largitus est tibi plurima, quæ te mortuo recuperare se sperat. Vix enim hodie diues aliquis moritur cui Principes non succedant.

Sed audi iam, quot imminent tibi molestiæ propter personam Principis. Raro nedum inter Principes, sed inter Priuatos quoque vir bonus reperitur. Cicero in diuinationum libris, Si quæ rarissime fiunt monstra putanda sunt, inquit, magis monstrum erit vir bonus,

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That if a man would seke ouer the worlde all, 370  
 So many good men vnethes finde should he  
 As there are gates in Thebes the Citie. C i  
 That is to say vnder the cope of heauen  
 Of perfite good men scant shall a man finde seuen.  
 And holy scripture yet speaketh more streitly, 375  
 As Shepheard Dauid doth clerely testify,  
 He saide our Lorde beholding on mankind  
 Could scant one good in all the worlde finde.  
 Scripture recordeth suche clauses many one,  
 That men be sinners and God is good alone. 380

*Coridon*

What nowe mate Cornix, I make God auowe,<sup>t</sup>  
 Thou haste in some friers bosome bene I trowe,  
 And spoyled some patche of his prechement,  
 Talke of the court, saue this in store for Lent.

*Cornix*

So was my purpose, thou nedest not obiect, 385  
 Of our first purpose these wordes haue effect.

quam partus mulæ. Astipulatur huic sententiæ Iuuenalis, qui licet prius dixisset,

*Rari quippe boni, numero vix sunt totidem, quot  
 Thebarum portæ, vel diuitis ostia Nili. (Iuuenal Sat 13.)*

Postea tamen, quasi septem reperiri non possent, amplius se restrinxit, dicens:

*Egregium, sanctumque virum si cerno, bimbri  
 Vt monstrum puero, & miranti sub aratro  
 Piscibus inuentis, & fætæ comparo Mulæ.*

Nec diuina scriptura remissior est: Si quidem apud Paulum Prophetę verba relata sunt: Est autem Deus verax, omnis homo mendax. Et iterum scriptum est; quia non iustus quisquam, non est intelligens non est requirens Deum. Ac rursus: *Non est qui faciat bonum, non est vsque ad vnum.*

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I tolde thee before by good auctoritie  
Howe both the poetes and oratours agree,  
And holy scripture, that fewe men be perfite,  
But bad in number be truely infinite. 390  
So if thy master be bad and worthy blame,  
Then art thou sory of his dishonest name,  
Thy lordes vices and liuing negligent  
Shall greue thy stomake if thou be innocent:  
It greueth thee if he be couetous or harde, 395  
Because he denieth<sup>1</sup> thy labour to rewarde,  
And for many thinges fayle by his negligence,  
And fall to ruine for sparing of expence.  
Agayne if thy lorde be free and liberall  
Alway thou fearest least other men haue all, 400  
His prodigall hande ofte vexeth sore thy heart,  
Least at the ending nought shall come to thy part,  
And least his treasure in folly so he spende  
That nothing remayne to helpe him at the ende.  
But if he be geuen to wrath and crueltie 405  
Thou fearest least he rage agaynst thy kin or thee,  
If he be meke, milde and sober thou art sory,  
For he not reuengeth eche hurt and iniury,  
If he be hardie then darest thou daunger,  
When he procedeth then standest thou arere, 410  
If he be a cowarde then haste thou great enuy  
Agaynst his enemies,<sup>2</sup> for they continually

Vides vt Oratores, ac Poëtæ cum sacra scriptura concordant. Videsne, vt rari boni, mali vero infiniti sunt?

Si ergo Rex tuus malus fuerit, dolebis eius infamiam, eiusque vicij cruciaberis. Si Auarus est, angeris, quia nec te præmiat, nec alios bene meritos; & quia plurima negligit, ne sumtum faciat: Si Liberalior est, times, ne profusione nimia obliuiet ærarium: Si Crudelis, vereris, ne in te tuosque sæuiat: Si Pius, ægre fers, quia non vlciscitur iniurias: Si Audax pericula reformidas: Si Vecors, hostibus inuides, qui sibi semper insultant: Si loquax,

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Destroy his landes and sore his name distayne,<sup>1</sup>  
When he for dread dare do nothing<sup>2</sup> agayne.  
If he vse chatting and often be talking, 415  
Well thou perceiuest that<sup>3</sup> while his tong is walking  
His priuie counsell he often doth detect,  
And muche he speaketh which is of none effect.  
If he be secret and still as one in slepe,  
Thou sayest he doubteth that none can counsell kepe, 420  
And thee suspecteth as muche as other mo,  
Then art thou greued and full of care and wo.  
If he loue wines<sup>4</sup> and thou fearest dronkennes,  
If he hate wines<sup>5</sup> and thou blamest his sadnes,  
And to his body thou countest him nigarde, 425  
Because he would kepe his housholde the more harde.  
To Uenus actes if he to muche apply,  
Thou sayest he to many doth hurt and iniury,  
If he hate women and flee their pleasour, then  
Both thou and other reputest him no man. 430  
With fewe men if he vse familiaritie  
Thou art displeased of them if thou not be,  
If he be common to all indifferent,  
Then is thy minde in likewise discontent,  
Because he loueth familier to be 435  
To euery person as greatly as with thee,  
But if that thy prince be good and thou be nought  
Then art thou in likewise sore vexed in thy thought,

multiloquium esse non absque peccato cognoscēs: Si Tacitus, dicis, quia nec Amicos, nec seruitores verbis scit retinere: Si Vinolentus, accusas ebrietatem: Si Vino non vtitur, quia parum sit lætus grauaris: Si Luxuriæ Cultor est, doles, quia plurimis iniuriatur: Si Fœminas fugit, dicis, non esse virum. Si paucos ad se admittit, displicet tibi, inter illos non esse: Si communis est omnibus, irasceris, quod tam reliquis, quam tibi sit familiaris: Si omni ex parte bonus est, quod monstrum fuerit, cum tu sis malus, doles, quia

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Least that he shortly thy seruice may despise,  
Because he not liueth after thy lewde gise. 440  
But if both be good and all of vices cleane,  
Which is a thing that seldome time is sene,  
Then monest<sup>1</sup> thou for that he is not fortunate  
As he is ordeyned and after his estate,  
Thy heart and minde doth so to him incline<sup>2</sup> 445  
That all his troubles and paynes<sup>3</sup> shall be thine,  
For this without doubt I tell thee Coridon,  
That no father is so tender ouer his son  
As is a good seruaunt diligent and true  
Unto a noble prince endued with vertue. 450  
And all if good fortune to him be fauourable.  
Yet still thou dredest because it is vnstable.  
Thus neuer shalt thou slepe in peace and quietnes,  
But when thou wakest thy rest is muche lesse.

*Coridon*

Because thou recountest of thy fidelitie, 455  
Of masters and men which loueth honestie,  
Nowe I remember the shepheard of the fen,<sup>4</sup>  
And what care for him demeaned all his men.  
And shepheard Morton when he durst not appeare,<sup>5</sup>  
Howe his olde seruauntes were carefull of his<sup>6</sup> chere. 460  
In payne and pleasour they kept fidelitie,  
Till grace agayne gaue him auctoritie,  
Then his olde fauour did them agayne restore  
To greater pleasour then they had payne before;<sup>7</sup>  
Though for a season this shepheard bode a blast, 465  
The greatest winde yet slaketh at the last,

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tuis vicijis non alludit: Aut si tu quoque sis bonus,  
quemadmodum est difficile, dolebis Principi bono non  
arridere Fortunam, semperque anxius eris suo statui:  
Ægrotabis cum eo: quoniam non tam filio suo pater  
afficitur, quam bono Principi bonus seruus: Cui etsi  
fortuna fauerit, nunc mutationem, nunc insidias times,  
nec dormies vnquam, nec vigilabis in pace.

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And at conclusion he and his flocke certayne  
Eche true to other did quietly remayne.  
My harte sore mourneth when I must specify  
Of the gentle Cocke whiche sange so mirily, 470  
- He and his flocke were like an vnion,  
Conioyned in one without discention,  
All the fayre Cockes which in his dayes crewe  
When death him touched did his departing rewe,  
The pretie palace by him made in the fen,<sup>1</sup> 475  
The maides, widowes, the wiues and the men,  
With deadly dolour were pearsed to the heart  
When death constrayned this shepheard to departe.  
Corne, grasse and fieldes mourned for wo and payne,  
For oft his prayer for them obtayned rayne, 480  
The pleasaunt floures for wo faded eche one  
When they perceyued this shepheard dead and gone,  
The okes, elmes and euery sorte of dere<sup>2</sup>  
Shronke vnder shadowes, abating all their chere,  
The mighty walles of Ely monastery, 485  
The stones, rockes, and towres semblably  
The marble pillers and images echeone,  
Swet all for sorowe when this good cocke was gone,<sup>3</sup>  
Though he of stature were humble, weake and leane,  
His minde was hye, his liuing pure and cleane, 490  
Where other feedeth by beastly appetite,  
On heauenly foode was all his whole delite.  
And shortly after this Cocke was dead and gone  
The Shepheard Roger<sup>4</sup> could not bide long alone,  
But shortly after false death stole him away, 495  
His worthy reporte still liueth till this day.  
When shepe wer scabbed this good shepherd was fayne  
With easie salues their sores to cure agayne,  
He nought pretended nor shewed of rigour,  
Nor was no wolfe poore lambes to deuour, 500  
When bushe or brambles pilled<sup>5</sup> the shepes skin,  
Then had he pitie and kept them close within,  
Or in newe fleces did tenderly them lap,

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And with his skirtes did oftentime them hap,<sup>1</sup>  
When he departed his flocke for wo was faynt, 505  
The fouldes sounded with dolour and complaynt,  
So that their clamour and crye bespred the yle,<sup>2</sup>  
His death was mourned from Ely forty mile.  
These worthy heardes and many other mo  
Were with their wethers in loue conioyned so, 510  
That more they cured by witte and pacience,  
Then dreadfull drome<sup>3</sup> can do with violence.  
Therefore all heardes vnto the wolde I trowe  
Should laude their names if vertue reigned now,  
But sith that cunning and vertue nere be gone 515  
Nowe be they lauded forsooth of fewe or none.  
I let<sup>4</sup> thy purpose to make conclusion,  
Uice liueth, vertue hath light obliuion,  
But speake on Cornix yet is it long to night,  
My minde to disclose causeth my heart be light. 520

*Cornix*

To laude these pastours wherfore haste thou delite?

[*Coridon*]<sup>5</sup>

All other shepherdes to vertue to excite.

*Cornix*

Then be thy wordes nothing mispent in vayne,  
But nowe to courtes will I returne agayne.  
And namely for thou haste spoken of cunning 525  
Me liste a little to common of that thing.  
It is to clarkes great pleasour certaynly  
And recreation to geue them to studie, |  
And some finde pleasour and recreation  
In secrete study and meditation, 530  
To write or to rede in places solitary,  
Whole to the muses his reason to apply.

Est insuper magna virorum recreatio MENTIS  
SECESSVS: Cum se aliquis retrahit in solitarium  
locum, ac vel meditatur, vel legit, vel scribit: totumque  
se Musis præbet. Et nunc Platonem, nunc Aristotelem,



*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

To talke with Plato, with Tulli or Uirgill,  
With Aristotle to common at his will,  
And other famous doctours many one. 535

*Coridon*

What man, all these long past be dead and gone,  
Who would with these<sup>1</sup> dispute, common or talke,  
To go where they be shall finde a wery walke.

*Cornix*

Though they be dead alieue yet<sup>2</sup> is their name,  
Their laudes, honour, their hye reporte of fame, 540  
So men deuise to speake with them in dede.  
As often as they their noble workes rede.

But as for courtiers aswell earely as late  
Be of this pleasour vtterly priuate,  
Though they liue idle their paynes infinite 545

To godly workes them graunteth no respite,  
Alway in clamour remayne they and in preace.  
And lewde acquayntaunce will them no time releace,  
But if that they chose some season secretly  
To some good study their mindes to apply, 550

To write or to read, anone some wretch is fayne  
And glad them to vexe and to disturbe agayne,  
But if all other be absent and at rest

Then nere their chamber the kitchin clarke is prest.  
Iengling his counters chatting him selfe alone, 555  
Thus seke all corners quiet thou findest none.

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nunc Tullium, nunc Virgilium, nunc alios Doctores, iam  
dudum mortuos, sed fama viuentes & scriptis, alloqui-  
tur. Sed hac voluptate priuati sunt Curiales, qui semper  
in negocio sunt, in clamoribus, in tumultibus. Si tibi  
nonnunquam particulam Mensæ delegeris, in qua vel  
legas aliquid, vel scribes; mox aliquis instabit, qui te  
vexet. Et si alij cessauerint, non aberit Dispensator, qui  
prope te computum faciat, æraque moueat, nusquam  
tibi angulus patebit quietus, in quo possis cum Scipione  
dicere: *Nunquam minus solus, quam cum solus.*

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

So must one<sup>1</sup> despise those noble oratours,  
The famous poetes and excellent doctours,  
And liue among men auoyde of vertues all,  
That rather a man rude beastes may them call. 560  
Of great estates there is a blinded sorte,  
Which cause their sonnes vnto the court resorte,  
That they may in court themselfe dayly frequent  
In learning vertue and maners excellent,  
But better might they say to learne all malice, 565  
All cursed maners and euery braunch of vice,  
As pride, disdayne, enuy and ribaudrie,  
So be good maners infect with villanie.  
For surely in courtes be men most vicious,  
Supporting vices to vertue contrarious, 570  
Dishonest language is counted most laudable,  
One bosteth baudry or gluttony damnable,  
No man there vaunteth him selfe of honestie,  
Of vertue, maners, of mercy and pitie,<sup>2</sup>  
But eyther he ioyeth of his mischeuous life, 575  
To haue defiled a virgin or a wife,  
Or els to haue slayne his foe or enemye,  
Or fraude committed or crafty felony.  
Which cursed maners youth sooner doth insue,  
Then godly liuing or maners of vertue. 580

Oportet te Priscis illis sanctique viris carere, atque inter  
homines viuere, quos rectius Bestias, omni virtute car-  
entes, appellaueris.

Sunt qui dicunt, se filios suos idcirco Principibus  
dare, vt MORES ediscant, fiantque virtute præstantes:  
Melius dicerent ad intelligendam maliciam, turpitu-  
dinemque discendam se filios transmisisse. Sunt enim  
in Curijs viciosissimi Iuuenes, sermones inhonesti.  
Ille luxuriam commendat, ille voracitatem: Nemo de  
virtute se iactat, sed aut virginē violasse, aut stuprasse  
nuptam, aut emulum occidis, aut rapina se aliquid  
nactum gloriabitur: quæ scelera sic ad adolescentes

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

When youth in vices hath fixed their courage,  
 They by no meanes shall leaue the same in age,  
 Nor thinke not in court to finde a yonge stripling,  
 Chast, sober, shamefast or maners ensuing,  
 All sueth vices, all sue enormitie, 585  
 Suche be the disciples as their infourmers be,  
 For true is the clause rehearsed of Terence,  
 That youth enclined then namely to offence,  
 When a lewde master him moued to incline  
 By ill example to daunger and ruine. 590  
 For nature leaneth<sup>1</sup> to all enormitie  
 When men so vseth which be in dignitie.  
 Youth thinketh lawfull and but a ioconde fit  
 Suche vice as elders vse dayly to commit,  
 And as yong braunches sone rotte and putrify, 595  
 So youth corrupteth by vices semblably.

*Coridon*

Be all yonge galandes of these abused sorte,  
 Whiche in yonge age vnto the court resorte?

*Cornix*

Who entreth the court in yong and tender age  
 Are lightly blinded with folly and outrage, 600  
 But such as entreth of witte and grauitie  
 Bowe not so soone to suche enormitie,  
 But or<sup>2</sup> they enter if they haue learned nought,  
 Afterwarde is cunning the least part of their thought.  
 In court it is counted vice to haue science, 605

imitantur atque imbibunt, vt nunquam postea dimit-  
 tant. Necte putes adolescentem pudicum, sobrium, vere-  
 cundum, & bene morigeratum, apud Principes inuenire:  
 Omnes huiusmodi sunt, quales magistri. Verum est  
 enim, quod Terentius ait: Ad peiorem plerunque  
 partem animum applicari, si quis ad eam rem Magis-  
 trum sortitus sit improbum. Sic Natura iubet; velocius  
 & citius eos corrumpunt exempla mala, cum animum  
 magnis autoribus subeunt.<sup>3</sup>.....

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

And counted for rebuke for to haue eloquence, -  
Thus haue men cunning great heauines and payne -  
Beholding them selues in court had in disdayne, -  
Their wit despised: in meane time shall they see, - 610  
That greatest matters ruled (nay marred) be -  
Of suche blinde fooles as can not count nor tell -  
A score saue twentie, yet moste of all suche mell. -  
But men vnlearned of inwarde payne haue some, -  
When they beholde that to the court be come -  
Men groundly learned, in Latin commoning, - 615  
The other hearken and vnderstande nothing, -  
Then truely it is to them a greeuous payne, -  
But neuerthesse of them haue they disdayne. -  
But liuing in court and flying none offence,  
What shall I common what grutch of conscience 620  
Uexeth thee dayly, right small is thy delite  
When troubled conscience vnquiet' doth thee bite. -  
No payne is sorer nor greeuouser torment -  
Then to remember and call to thine intent -  
Howe many vices, howe great enormitie - 625  
Hath thee in thraldome and in captiuitie, -  
Thine owne conscience is still within thy brest -  
As tormentour, depriuing thee of rest, -  
With priuie scourges and payne intollerable, -

Est enim in Curijs Principum viciosum, litteras nosse,  
& probri loco ducitur disertus. Est itaque magna literatorum molestia, cum se contemni per omnia viderint, & res maximas ab istis dirigi, ne dicam ego negligi, qui vix inter manus & pedes quot habent digitos norunt. Sed est etiam illiteratis sua turbatio, cum viros in curiam doctos, ac Latine loquentes venisse vident, quos ipsi nequeunt intelligere. Quid præterea de CONSCIENTIA tua dicam, quæ semper inquieta est, semperque te mordet, cum tu te scias, multis viciorum illecebris inquinatum. Nullum grauius suppliciu, vt Seneca scribit, quam Conscientia.

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Recounting thy workes and life abhominable, 630  
Thou mayst not auoyde and from this enemy start,  
Flee where thee liketh he resteth in thy heart,  
This is of courtiers the deadly tormentour,  
With desperation them seking to deuour.  
Sometime their conscience grutched is with gile, 635  
With theft, with murther, with lechery some while,  
Though their own conscience thus torment them with  
payn  
To the same offences returne they yet agayne,  
Their conscience grutching to cause of grutch they fall,  
Thus still them torment the furies infernall, C ij 640  
I meane remembraunce of manyfolde offence,  
Continuall torment by grutche of conscience.  
What shall I tell thee the payne of soden feare  
Which doth the mindes of courtiers often deare,  
Sometime the lower are greeued with threatning, 645  
And suffer paynes when they haue done nothing.

Hinc Iuuenalis:

.....*cur tamen hos tu*  
*Euasisse putas, quos diri conscia facti*  
*Mens habet attonitos, & surdo verberet cædit,*  
*Occultum quatiente animo tortore flagellum?*  
*Pœna autem vehemens, ac multo sæuior illis,*  
*Quas & Caeditius grauis inuenit & Rhadamantus,*  
*Nocte dieque suum gestare in pectore testem.*

(*Iuuenal Sat. 13.*)

Sed audi obsecro Ciceronem, pro Sexto Roscio, cuius hæc, si bene memini, verba sunt: Sua quæque fraus, & suus terror maxime vexat; suum quæque scelus agitat, amentiaque afficit, malæ cogitationes conscientiaque animi terrent. Hæc sunt Impiis assiduæ domesticæque Furia, quæ dies noctesque pœnas parentum, a consceleratissimis filijs repetant. Quæque te vertis, oblocutiones de Rege, de Consiliariis, de te ipso fiunt, cum vel

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Sometime while the court is daunsing in disport  
Or in other solace their heartes to comfort,  
Anone commeth in a sodeyn messangere,  
Affirming truely some armed foes nere, 650  
And that same army is neare at hande doubtles,  
Then turneth solace to wo and heauines,  
And while some princes for pleasour hauke or hunt,  
Suche fearefull tidinges to heare ofte are they<sup>1</sup> wont.

*Coridon*

Suche feare and daunger doth happen commonly 655  
On all degrees with sodeyn ieopardy,  
For plowmen, shepheardes and citizens also  
By warre endureth great dammage, losse and wo.

*Cornix*

All other sortes sometime may<sup>2</sup> stande afarre,  
But courtiers must bide all daunger of warre,<sup>3</sup> 660  
Saue losse of goodes, for some haue nought to lose,  
But this will I leaue and turne to my purpose.  
No gifte<sup>4</sup> is graunted of God vnto mankinde  
Better then frendship when man it true may finde,  
But ouer all the court no man shall finde nor see 665  
True stedfast frendship nor perfite amitie,  
For sith all courtiers for moste parte blinded be  
With vicious liuing and all enormitie,  
They haue no frendship but conspiration,  
And to do mischief confederation. 670  
For perfite frendship is when two men agree  
Or mo, in working some dede of honestie.

---

nimis subditi grauantur, vel hostes instant, dum Curia  
CHOREIS est, aut in VENATIONIBVS occupata.

Nullum inter res mundanas maius munus est homi-  
nibus a Deo concessum, vt Cicero dicit, quam AMI-  
CITIA. At hoc bono, tam suauis, tam vtili, tam neces-  
sario, priuati sunt Curiales. Nanque viciosissimi fere  
cum sint omnes, non Amicitia inter eos esse, sed factio  
quædam, & conspiratio potest. Inueniuntur nonnulli

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Some courtiers be founde which seme ingenious,  
Pregnaunt of reason, wise and laborious,  
Yet haue they but shadowe of vertue and goodnes, 675  
And not of vertues the playne signes expres,  
Some seme liberall, but they ensue rapine,  
Some seme very chast, but they to pride incline,  
Some semeth humble, which vseth gluttony,  
And some famelier which leane to<sup>1</sup> lechery, 680  
In none mayst thou see one sparkle of vertue,  
But twentie vices shall that one gift ensue.  
In suche a meany full of iniquitie  
Harde is to finde one worthy amitie,  
But if thou in court some honest men<sup>2</sup> awayte 685  
Then with great rulers is he made in conceyt,  
I[f]\*<sup>3</sup> he from conceyt and out of fauour be  
Thou mayst not with him haue familiaritie.  
Sometime shalt thou see suche drawn to torment  
As be thy frendes, faultles and innocent, 690  
And ofte thy enemie in many a fault culpable  
Thou shalt in the court see hye and honorable:  
To see thy good frende bide death so wrongfully,  
To sorowe and nought say is a great payne truely,

industrij ac laboriosi Curiales; at in his adumbrata, nō  
expressa, sunt signa virtutum. Videntur quidam liber-  
ales, sed rapinam sequuntur. Si sunt casti, ambitiosos  
inuenies eos, atque superbos. Si humiles, Ebrij sunt  
& Nebulones. In nullo virtus est aliqua, quam mille  
vicia non comitentur. Arduum est, in hac hominum  
colluie, virum amicitia dignum reperire. Quod si quis  
inuentus fuerit bonus, vel Regi non placebit, vel Mag-  
natibus, nec eius vti beneuolentia poteris: quia non licet  
in Curijs habere commercium inter illos, qui non sunt  
accepti: Videbisque nonnunquam illos, quos diligis, &  
qui tibi sanguine sunt coniuncti, ad supplicium rapi.  
Et quamuis difficile sit tacere, cum doleas; tamen nec

\* Cawood: 'It.'

*The Eglōges of Alexander Barclay*

But yet for thy life say nought, be pacient, 695  
Not onely whisper least thou haue like torment.  
Conuersaunt muste thou be with suche to thy payne.  
Which haue thy father or els thy brother slayne.  
If thou be busy or squaring<sup>1</sup> of language  
Thou mayst peraduenture walke in the same passage. 700  
And if thou in court to riches so assende  
That thou mayst reteyne men on thee to attende,  
Some of thy seruauntes shalt thou oft time beholde  
Lewdely disposed to vices manyfolde,  
Some shall be theues, some dronkenner then swine, 705  
Some shall loue brauling or to lying encline,  
Some slowe, some gluttons, some fall to ribaudry,  
Aduoutry, murther, with other villany.  
Some be forgetfull, some peart, some insolent,  
Some craftles fooles, some proude and negligent, 710  
If thou chaunge, some better for to haue,  
Thou voydest a lubber and hast agayne a knaue,  
And if thou haue one with knauishenes infect,  
Then all the other shall folowe the same secte.  
Agayn<sup>e</sup> if thy selfe be poore and a seruaunt, 715  
Thou shalt finde thy master rashe, rude<sup>2</sup> and ignoraunt,  
Alway complayning, and neuer well content,  
Ofte asking seruice, in paying negligent,  
Of speche<sup>3</sup> superflue, hastie and rigorous,  
Enuious, dronken, vnstable and couetous. 720  
Thus seruaunt, master, gentleman and villayne,  
Liue all in court with misery and payne.

---

conqueri poteris, neque hiscere: Sæpeque cum illo conuersari cogeris, qui tibi vel patrem vel matrem occiderit.

Si eius conditionis fueris, vt FAMVLATVM possis tenere; inueneris Seruitores tuos Ebrios, Gulosos, Rixososque, Insolentes, Immemores, Negligentes, Inertes, Adulteros, Homicidas. Si rursus tu alteri famuleris, dominum auarum, Querulosum, Inuidum, Temulentum, Loquacem reperies.



*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

*Coridon*

Nowe truely Cornix this is a wretched life,  
Uoyde of all pleasour, wrapped in payne and strife.

*Cornix*

Count all the rowmes and offices echeone,<sup>1</sup> 725  
And none shalt thou finde without vexation,  
What thinke the counsell<sup>2</sup> when princes not agree  
To their aduisement of moste vtilitie?  
What haue Chauncelers of inwarde displeasour  
When their letters written to their princes honour, 730  
For the common weale and sure vtilitie,  
Can not passe forward till they transposed be  
From good to right nought, corrupt for correct?  
What thinke comptrollers when they be dayly chekt,  
The rulers of court, vsher and senescall, 735  
Treasorers, clerkes, and euery marshall,  
What payne haue these echeone in his office,  
When often ribaudes them sclaunder and despise,  
Or some busy body hauing but small insight  
Comptroll their countes be they neuer so right? 740  
What payne haue chaplens comptrolled in seruice,  
And phisitians when some their arte<sup>3</sup> despise?  
What knightes, trompeters and souldiers commonly,

---

Discurrere per omnes Curiae status; quam contemti  
CONSILIARII sint, suisque consilijs non acquies-  
cere Principes. Quid aiunt CANCELLARII, cum  
eorum litterae ad honorem Regis & vtilitatem scriptae,  
transire non possunt, nisi corruptae, & ex bono in  
malum mutatae? Quid MAGISTRI CVRIÆ, &  
MARESCALLI, dum obedientiam non inueniunt?  
Quid MAGISTRI CAMERÆ, dum eorum computa  
corripiuntur? Quid CAPPELLANI, dum in celebra-  
tione diuinorum officiorum suspenduntur. Quid  
MEDICI, dum negligi sana, & nociua recipi cernunt?  
Quid MILITES? Quid CVBICVLARII? Quid  
TVBICINES? dum stipendia sibi negantur? Quid

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

When treasurers their wages doth deny?  
 What payne haue cookes whiche scant maye seeth / 745  
 their befe

Without some rebuke, a checke or a reпре?  
 Coridon in court no roume is trust thou me,  
 But that is wrapped in great aduersitie,  
 But briefely to say<sup>r</sup> and make conclusion,  
 Right wise men suffer great tribulation 750  
 The heauenly pleasour to purchase and obtayne,  
 More suffreth courtiers to purchase endles payne.  
 I mell not with them which of necessitie  
 Agayne their pleasour must in the court be  
 As busy suters to purchase droit and right, 755  
 Which would be thence right gladly if they might.

*Coridon*

Beleue me Cornix thou turned hast my minde,  
 Farewell all courting, adewe pleasour vnkinde,  
 Thou playne hast proued that all they fooles be  
 Which folowe the court seking captiuitie, 760  
 And might els where an honest life purchase,  
 Hauing suffisaunce and moderate solace.

*Cornix*

Then let all shepheardes<sup>r</sup> from hence to Salisbury,  
 With easie riches liue well, laugh and be mery.  
 Pipe vnder shadowes, small riches hath most rest, 765  
 In greatest seas moste sorest is tempest.  
 The court is nought els but a tempesteous sea, /

COQVI, qui nihil parare sine reprehensione possunt?  
 Nullus est, cui non sint infinitæ molestiæ. Atque, vt  
 breuiter dicam; per multas tribulationes intrant Iusti  
 in gloriam DEI: *curiales vero cum multis cruciatibus*  
*acquirere sibi Gehennam student.*<sup>3</sup>.....

Taceo & illos, qui necessario & inuiti sequuntur  
 Curiam. Nam, vt Cicero pro Sexto Roscio dicit; Quod  
 ego inuitus & necessario facio, nec diu, nec diligenter  
 facere possum.

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Auoyde the rockes, be ruled after me,  
There is more daunger then is vppon the lande,  
As swallows,<sup>1</sup> rockes, tempest and quicke sande. 770  
Mayrmaydes singing, abusing with their song,  
Caribdis, Sylla, and sandy bankes longe,  
In it be cliffes of hardest Adamant  
To sinne exciting yonge fooles ignorant.  
What shepheard loueth peace and tranquillitie, 775  
Or rest requireth to liue in vnitie,  
Swete peace of heart who euer doth require,  
Or health of his soule if any man desire,  
Flee from the court, flee from the court I crye, -  
Flee proude beggery and solemne miserye. - 780  
For there is no rest nor godly exercise,  
No loue of vertue but vse of euery vice,  
As auarise, lust, and beastly gluttony,  
Crueltie, malice, ambition and enuy: 785  
But namely Uenus or luste venerall,  
To hir vile actes playnly subdueth all,  
Upon which vices who fixeth his intent  
Him selfe to defende hath he no argument,  
But that of all wise men,<sup>2</sup> honest and laudable;  
He shalbe conuict of liuing reprouable, 790

**C**redo iam me promissioni meæ satisfecisse; quia  
stultos esse, me probaturum dixi, Omnes, qui aliam  
vitam habentes, in qua possint se honeste traducere,  
Curiarum molestias sequuntur. Quod cum ita sit, re-  
linquamus hoc PELAGVS INQUIETVM, nosque  
in aliam vitam redigamus. Namque si pacem cupimus,  
si ocium diligimus, si nobis viuere volumus, si Salutem  
animæ quærimus; fugienda sunt nobis atria Regum &  
aulici tumultus: in quibus nec requies, nec bonarum  
artium exercitatio, nec virtutis amor aliquis regnat; sed  
Auaricia tantum, Libido, Crudelitas, Crapula, Inuidia,  
& Ambitio dominatur. Quibus vicijs qui sit deditus,  
nullo se poterit argumento tueri, quin apud viros doctos,

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

A naturall foole of reason dull and rude,  
Proface Coridon, thus do I here conclude.

*Coridon*

Conclude mote<sup>t</sup> thy life in blessed state of grace  
Mine owne heart Cornix for this thy good solace,  
But haste thou touched all whole and perfetely 795  
Of court and courtiers the payne and misery.

*Cornix*

Nay, nay Coridon, I tolde thee so before,  
Muche haue I tolde, behinde is muche more,  
Their inwarde crimes and vice abhominable,  
Their outwarde raging in sinnes detestable, 800  
Their theft and fraudes, and their extortion,  
And of misliuers their suppottation,  
Their dayly murther and forsing of women,  
Frauding of virgins, pilling of simple men,  
Aduoutry, incest and fornication, 805  
And of good virgins the defloration.  
These and suche like dare I not playnly touche;  
For all these crosses and siluer in my pouche.

*Coridon*

Then haste we hence the sonne is nere at rest,

*Cornix*

Take vp thy baggage my mate that now is best. 810

*Coridon*

But tell me Cornix one thing or we departe,  
On what maner life is best to set my harte?  
In court is combraunce, care, payne, and misery,  
And here is enuy, ill will and penury.

*Cornix*

Sufferaunce ouercommeth all malice at the last, 815  
Weake is that tree which can not bide a blast,  
But heare nowe my counsell I bid thee finally,  
Liue still a shepheard for playnly so will I.

& malus esse conuincatur, & stultus. Vale, vir, nisi ex  
Curialibus vnus esses, meo iudicio prudens.

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

*Coridon*

That shall I Cornix thy good counsell fulfill,  
To dye a shepheard established is my will.

820

*Cornix*

So do, or after thou often shall repent,  
Poore life is surest, the court is but torment.

*Coridon*

Adewe swete Cornix, departing is a payne,  
But mirth reneweth when louers mete againe.

**Thus endeth the thirde and laste Egloge  
of the miseries of Courtes and Courtiers.**

The fourth Egloge<sup>1</sup> of Alexander Barclay, entituled  
Codrus and Minalcas, treating of the behauour of  
Riche men agaynst Poetes.

### The Argument

Codrus a shepheard lusty, gay and stoute,  
Sat with his wethers at pasture round about,  
And poore Minalcas with ewes scarce fourtene  
Sat sadly musing in shadowe on the grene.  
This lustie Codrus was cloked for the rayne, 5  
And doble decked with huddes one or twayne,  
He had a pautner<sup>2</sup> with purses manyfolde,  
And surely lined with siluer and with golde,  
Within his wallet were meates good and fine,  
Both store and plentie had he of ale and wine, 10  
Suche fulsome pasture made him a double chin,  
His furred mittins were of a cures skin,  
Nothing he wanted longing to cloth or foode,  
But by no meane would he depart with good.  
Sometime this Cod[ru]s<sup>3</sup>\* did vnder shadowe lye 15  
Wide open piping and gaping on the skye,  
Sometime he daunced and hobbled as a beare,  
Sometime he pried howe he became his geare,  
He lept, he songe, and ran to proue his might,  
When purse is heauy oftetime the heart is light. 20  
But though this Codrus had store inough of good,  
He wanted wisdom, for nought he vnderstood  
Saue worldly practise his treasour for to store,  
Howe euer it came small forse had he therfore.  
On the otherside the poore Minalcas lay, 25  
With empty belly and simple poore aray,  
Yet coude he pipe and finger well a drone,<sup>4</sup>  
But soure is musike when men for hunger grone.  
Codrus had riches, Minalcas had cunning,  
For God not geueth to one man euery thing. 30

\* Cawood: 'Codurs.'

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

At last this Codrus espied Minalcas,  
And soone he knewe what maner man he was,  
For olde acquayntaunce betwene them earst had bene,<sup>1</sup>  
Long time before they met vpon the grene,  
And therefore Codrus downe boldly by him sat,  
And in this maner began with him to chat, C iij 35

FINIS

*Codrus first speaketh*

AL hayle Minalcas, nowe by my fayth well met,  
Lorde Iesu mercy what troubles did thee let,  
That this long season none could thee here espy?  
With vs was thou wont to sing full merily, 40  
And to lye piping oftetime among the floures,  
What time thy beastes were feding among ours.  
In these olde valleys we two were wont to bourde,<sup>2</sup>  
And in these shadowes talke many a mery worde,  
And oft were we wont to wrastle for a fall, 45  
But nowe thou droupest and hast forgotten all.  
Here wast thou wont swete balades to sing,  
Of song and ditie as it were for a king,  
And of gay matters to sing and to endite,  
But nowe thy courage is gone and thy delite, 50  
Trust me Minalcas nowe playnly I espy  
That thou art wery of shepheardes company,  
And that all pleasour thou semest to despise,  
Lothing our pasture and fieldes in likewise,  
Thou fleest solace and euery mery fitte, 55  
Leasing thy time and sore hurting thy witte,

---

Ægloga quinta quæ dicitur Candidus de consuetudine  
diuitum erga poetas colloquutores Syluanus & Can-  
didus.<sup>3</sup>

Sylu. Candide nobiscum pecudes aliquando solebas  
Pascere/& his gelidis calamos inflare sub umbris  
Et miscere sales simul/& certare palestra.  
Nunc autem quasi pastores & rura perosus  
Pascua sopito fugis/& trahis ocia cantu.

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

In sloth thou slombrest as buried were thy song,  
Thy pipe is broken or somewhat els is wrong.

*Minalcas*

What time the Cuckowes fethers mout and fall,  
From sight she lurketh, hir song is gone withall, 60  
When backe is bare and purse of coyne is light,  
The wit is dulled and reason hath no might:  
Adewe enditing when gone is libertie,  
Enemie to Muses is wretched pouertie,  
What time a knight is subiect to a knaue 65  
To iust or tourney small pleasour shall he haue.

*Codrus*

What no man thee kepeth here in captiuitie,  
And busy labour subdueth pouertie,  
And oft it is better and much surer also  
As subiect to obey then at freewill to go, 70  
As for example beholde a wanton colte  
In raging youth leapeth ouer hill and holte,<sup>1</sup>  
But while he skippeth at pleasure and at will  
Ofte time doth he fall in daunger for to spill,  
Sometime on stubbes his hofes sore he teares, 75  
Or fals in the mud both ouer head and eares,  
Sometime all the night abroad in hayle or rayne,  
And oft among breres tangled by the mayne,  
And other perils he suffreth infinite,  
So mingled with sorowe is pleasour and delite: 80  
But if this same colte be broken at the last,  
His sitter ruleth and him refrayneth fast,  
The spurre him pricketh, the bridle doth him holde,  
That he can not prounce at pleasour where he wolde,  
The rider him ruleth and saueth from daunger. 85  
By which example Minalcas it is clere  
That freewill is subiect to inconuenience,  
Where by subiection man voydeth great offence,  
For man of him selfe is very frayle certayne,  
But ofte a ruler his folly doth refrayne, 90  
But as for thy selfe thou hast no cause pardie,



*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

To walke at pleasour is no captiuitie.

*Minalcas*

Seest thou not Codrus the fieldes rounde about<sup>1</sup>  
Compassed with floudes that none may in nor out,  
The muddy waters nere choke me with the stinke, 95  
At euery tempest they be as blacke as inke:  
Pouertie to me should be no discomforte  
If other shepheardes were all of the same sorte.  
But Codrus I clawe oft where it doth not itche,  
To see ten beggers and halfe a dosen riche, 100  
Truely me thinketh this wrong pertition,  
And namely sith all ought be after one.  
When I first behelde these fieldes from a farre,  
Me thought them pleasant and voyde of strife or warre,  
But with my poore flocke approaching nere and nere 105  
Alway my pleasour did lesse and lesse appeare,  
And truely Codrus since I came on this grounde  
Oft vnder floures vile snakes haue I founde,  
Adders and todes and many fell serpent,  
Infecte olde shepe with venim violent, 110  
And ofte be the yonge infected of the olde,  
That vnto these fewe nowe brought is all my folde.<sup>2</sup>

*Codrus*

In some place is neyther venim nor serpent,  
And as for my selfe I fele no greuous sent.

*Minalcas*

It were great maruell where so great grounde is sene,<sup>3</sup> 115  
If no small medowe were pleasaunt, swete and clene,  
As for thee Codrus I may beleue right weele,  
That thou no sauour nor stinke of mud dost feelee,  
For if a shepheard hath still remayned longe  
In a foule prison or in a stinking gonge,<sup>4</sup> 120  
His pores with ill ayre be stopped so echeone  
That of the ayre he feleth small sent or none,  
And yet the dwellers be badder then the place,  
The riche and sturdie doth threaten and manace  
The poore and simple and suche as came but late, 125

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

And who moste knoweth him moste of all they hate,  
And all the burthen is on the Asses backe,  
But the stronge Caball' standeth at the racke.  
And suche be assigned sometime the flocke to kepe  
Which scant haue so muche of reason as the shepe, 130  
And euery shepheard at other hath enuy,  
Scant be a couple which loueth perfitley,  
Ill will so reygne that brauling be thou sure,  
Constrayned me nere to seke a newe pasture,  
Saue onely after I hope of better rest, 135  
For small occasion a birde not chaungeth nest.

*Codrus*

Welere thou graunted that in a large grounde  
Some plot of pleasour and quiet may be founde,  
So where of hearde assembled is great sorte,  
There some must be good, then to the best resorte. 140  
But leaue we all this, turne to our poynt agayne,  
Of thy olde balades some would I heare full fayne,  
For often haue I had great pleasour and delite  
To heare recounted suche as thou did endite.

*Minalcas*

Yea, other shepheardes which haue inough at home,<sup>2</sup> 145  
When ye be mery and stuffed is your wombe,  
Which haue great store of butter, chese and woll,  
Your coves others of milke replete and full,  
Payles of swete milke as full as they be able,  
When your fat dishes smoke hote vpon your table, 150  
Then laude ye songes and balades magnifie,  
If they be mery or written craftily,  
Ye clappe your handes and to the making harke,  
And one say to other, lo here a proper warke.

---

*Cand.* Vos quibusestres *ampla domi*/ *quibus ubera uaccæ*  
Plena ferunt / quibus alba greges mulctralia  
*complent*  
Cymbia lacte niuent/ & pinguia prandia fumant/  
Carmina laudatis. si quid concinius exit/

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

But when ye haue saide nought geue ye for our payne, 155  
Saue onely laudes and pleasaunt wordes vayne,  
All if these laudes may well be counted good,  
Yet the poore shepheard must haue some other food.

*Codrus*

Mayst thou not sometime thy folde and shepe apply,  
And after at leasour to liue more quietly, 160  
Dispose thy wittes to make or to endite,  
Renouncing cures for time while thou dost write.

*Minalcas*

Nedes must a Shepheard bestowe his whole labour  
In tending his flockes, scant may he spare one houre:  
In going, comming, and often them to tende, 165  
Full lightly the day is brought vnto an ende.  
Sometime the wolues with dogges must he chace,  
Sometime his foldes must he newe compace:  
And oft time them chaunge, and if he stormes doubt,  
Of his shepecote dawbe the walles round about: 170  
When they be broken, oft times them renue,  
And hurtfull pastures note well, and them eschue.  
Bye strawe and litter, and hay for winter colde,  
Oft grease the scabbes aswell of yonge as olde.  
For dreade of thieues oft watche vp all the night, 175  
Beside this labour with all his minde and might,  
For his poore housholde for to prouide vitayle,  
If by aduenture his wooll or lambes fayle.

---

Plaudit/ac læti placidas extenditis aures.  
Pro numeris uarias laudes/& inania uerba  
Redditis. interea pastor sitit/esurit/alget.

Sylu. Nonne potes curare greges. & dicere uersus  
Cum uacat? & positus uitam traducere curis?

Cand. *Omnem operam* gregibus pastorem impendere  
oportet/  
Ire redire/lupos arcere/mapalia sepe  
Cingere: mercari paleas/& pabula/uictum

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

In doing all these no respite doth remayne,  
But well to indite requireth all the brayne. 180  
I tell thee Codrus, a stile of excellence  
Must haue all laboure and all the diligence.  
Both these two workes be great, nere importable  
To my small power, my strength is muche vnable.  
The one to intende scant may I bide the payne, 185  
Then it is harder for me to do both twayne.  
What time<sup>1</sup> my wittes be clere for to indite,  
My dayly charges will graunt me no respite:  
But if I folowe, inditing at my will,  
Eche one disdayneth my charges to fulfill. 190  
Though in these fieldes eche other ought sustayne,  
Cleane lost is that lawe, one may require in vayne:  
If coyne commaunde, then men count them as bounde,  
Els flee they labour, then is my charge on grounde.

*Codrus*

Cornix oft counted that man should flee no payne, 195  
His frendes burthen to supporte and sustayne:  
Feede they thy flocke, while thou doest write and sing,  
Eche horse agreeth not well for euery thing.  
Some for the charet, some for the cart or plough,  
And some for hakneyes, if they be light and tough. 200  
Eche fielde agreeth not well for euery seede,  
Who hath moste labour is worthy of best mede.

*Minalcas*

After inditing then gladly would I drinke,  
To reach me the cup no man doth care ne thinke:  
And ofte some fooles voyde of discretion 205  
Me and my matters haue in derision.

---

Quærere/nîl superest ocii: laudabile carmen  
Omnem operam totumque caput syluane re-  
quirît.  
Grande utrunque opus est/& nostris uiribus  
impar  
Cum cecini sitio: sitiendi pocula nemo

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

And meruayle is none, for who would sowe that fielde,  
With costly seedes, which shall no fruites yelde.  
Some wanton body oft laugheth me to scorne,  
And saith: Minalcas, see howe thy pilche<sup>1</sup> is torne, 210  
Thy hose and cokers be broken at the knee,  
Thou canst not stumble, for both thy shone may see.  
Thy beard like bristles, or like a porpos skin,  
Thy cloathing sheweth, thy winning is but thin:  
Such mocking tauntes renueth oft my care, 215  
And now be woods of fruit and leaues bare.  
And frostie winter hath made the fieldes white,  
For wrath and anger my lip and tonge I bite:  
For dolour I droupe, sore vexed with disdayne,  
My wombe all wasteth, wherfore I bide this payne: 220  
My wooll and wethers may scarsly feede my wombe,  
And other housholde which I retayne at home.  
Leane be my lambes, that no man will them bye,  
And yet their dammes they dayly sucke so dry,  
That from the vthers no licoure can we wring, 225  
Then without repast who can indite or sing.  
It me repenteth, if I haue any wit,  
As for my science, I wery am of it.  
And of my poore life I weary am, Codrus,  
Sith my harde fortune for me disposeth thus, 230  
That of the starres and planettes eche one

---

Porrigit. irrident alii: tibi penula dicunt  
Candide trita. genu nudum. riget hispida barba.<sup>2</sup>  
Iam syluæ implumes/ & hyems in montibus albet.  
Irascor/doleo/indignor. fert omnia uictus/  
Lanicium/fœtusque mares. non uendimus agnas.  
Sed quia lac pascunt/premitur nihil. ubera sic-  
cant.

Pœniter\* ingenii si quid mihi. pœnitet artis:  
Pœnitet & uitæ: postquam mihi nulla secundant  
Ex tot syderibus quot sunt in nocte serena.

\* Pœniter

## *The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

To poore Minalcas well fortunate is none.  
 Knowen is the truth if it were clerely sought,  
 That nowe to this time I still haue songe for nought:  
 For youth is lusty, and of small thing hath nede, 235  
 That time to age men geue no force nor heede.  
 Ages condition is greatly contrary,  
 Which nowe approacheth right still and craftyly,  
 But what time age doth any man oppresse,  
 If he in youth haue gathred no riches: 240  
 Then passeth age in care and pouertie,  
 For nede is grieuous with olde infirmitie:  
 And age is fetred oft time with care and neede,  
 When strength is faded and man hath nought to feede,  
 When strength is faded, then hope of gayne is gone, 245  
 In youtthes season to make prouision.  
 The litle Emmet is wise and prouident,  
 In summer working with labour diligent,  
 In her small caues conueying corne and grayne  
 Her life in Winter to nourish and sustayne: 250  
 And with her small mouth is busy it cutting,  
 Least in her caues the same might growe or spring.  
 So man of reason himselfe reputing sage,  
 In youth should puruey, to liue theron in age.

*Codrus*

Men say that clerkes which knowe Astronomy, 255  
 Knowe certayne starres which longe to desteny:  
 But all their saying is nothing veritable,

---

Hactenus ut nosti/gratis cantauimus. ætas  
 Indiga paucorum merces fuit: altera longe  
 Conditio senii/quod nunc subit. omnium egenos  
 Reddit: & extinctis lucri spem uiribus aufert.  
 Mox erit utendum partis. modo quærere tempus  
 En formica brevis/sed prouida bestia condit  
 In brummam noua farra cauis æstate latebris.  
 Neue renascantur/fruges secat ore sepultas.  
 Sylu. Scire genethliacos fatalia sydera dicunt.

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Yet heare the matter, though it be but a fable.  
They say that Mercury doth Poetes fauoure,  
Under Iupiter be princes of honour: 260  
And men of riches, of wealth or dignitie,  
And all such other as haue auctoritie:  
Mercury geueth to Poetes laureate  
Goodly conueyaunce, speeche pleasaunt and ornate,  
Inuentife reāson to sing or play on harpe, 265  
In goodly ditie or balade for to carpe.  
This is thy lot, what seekest thou riches?  
No man hath all, this thing is true doubtlesse.  
God all disposeth as he perceyueth best,  
Take thou thy fortu[n]e,\* and holde thee still in rest: 270  
Take thou thy fortune, and holde thy selfe content,  
Let vs haue riches and rowmes excellent,

*Minalcas*

Thou haste of riches and goodes haboundance,  
And I haue dities and songes of pleasaunce:  
To aske my cunning to couetous thou art, 275  
Why is not thy selfe contented with thy part,  
Why doest thou inuade my part and portion,  
Thou wantest (Codrus) wit and discretion.

*Codrus*

Not so Minalcas, forsooth thou art to blame,  
Of wronge inuasion to geue to me the name. 280

---

Hi sub mercurio uates/& sub ioue reges  
Magnatesque locant: istis dat iupiter aurum.  
Atque magistratus. dat maiæ filius† illis  
Ingenium/linguam/citharas/& carminis artem  
Hæc tua sors. quid quæris opes? deus omnia in  
omnes

Diuidit/ut melius nobis uidet esse futurum.  
Sorte tua contentus abi. sine cætera nobis.  
Cand. Sunt tibi diuitiæ mihi carmina. quid petis ergo  
Carmen? & inuadis partes Syluane alienas?

\* Cawood: 'fortune.' † 'filims.'

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

I would no ditie nor ballade take thee fro,  
 No harpe nor armes which long to Appollo:  
 But onely, Minalcas, I sore desire and longe  
 To geue mine eares to thy sweete sounding song.  
 It feedeth hearing, and is to one pleasaunt, 285  
 To heare good reason and ballade consonant.

*Minalcas*

If thou haue pleasure to heare my melody,  
 I graunt thee Codrus to ioy my armony,  
 So haue I pleasure and ioy of thy riches,  
 So giftes doubled increaseth loue doubtlesse. C iv 290

*Codrus*

He of my riches hath ioy which loueth me,  
 And who me hateth, nothing content is he.  
 Enuious wretches by malice commonly  
 Take others fortune and pleasure heauyly.

*Minalcas*

In likewise mayst thou inioy of our science, 295  
 And of our Muses though thou be fro presence:  
 And of our cu[n]ning\* thou ioyest semblably,<sup>1</sup>  
 If nought prouoke thee by malice and enuy.  
 If I feede thy eares, feede thou my mouth agayne,  
 I loth were to spende my giftes all in vayne. 300  
 Meate vnto the mouth is foode and sustenance,  
 And songes feede the eares with pleasaunce.  
 I haue the Muses, if thou wilt haue of mine,

Sylu. Non tibi surripio carmen/nec apollinis arma:  
 Sed dare dulcisonis aures concentibus opto.  
 Cand. Si gaudere meis igitur concentibus optas/  
 Nos gaudere tuis opibus Syluane decorum est.  
 Sylu. Ille meis opibus gaudet qui diligit. odit  
 Inuidus: atque animo bona fert aliena molesto.  
 Cand. Sic quoque tu nostris absens gaudere camœnis  
 Sat potes. hæc artis sat sint tibi gaudia nostræ.  
 Carmina sunt auris conuiuia/caseus oris.  
 Si cupis auditu fac nos gaudere palato.

\* Cawood: 'cuuning.'



*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Then right requireth that I haue part of thine.  
 This longeth to loue, to nourish charitee, 305  
 This feedeth pitie, this doth to right agree.  
 This is the pleasure and will of God aboue,  
 Of him disposed for to ingender loue.  
 All pleasaunt giftes one man hath not pardie,  
 That one of other should haue necessitie. 310  
 No man of him selfe is sure sufficient,  
 This is prouision of God omnipotent.  
 That one man should neede anothers assistance,  
 Thereby is ioyned loue and beneuolence.  
 Englande hath cloth, Burdeus hath store of wine, 315  
 Cornewall hath tinne, and lymster<sup>1</sup> wools fine.  
 London hath scarlet,<sup>2</sup> and Bristowe pleasaunt red,<sup>3</sup>  
 Fen lande hath fishes, in other place is lead.  
 This is of our Lorde disposed so my brother  
 Because all costes should one haue neede of other. 320  
 So euery tree hath fruit after his kinde,  
 And diuers natures in beastes may we finde.  
 Alway when nature of thing is moste laudable,  
 That thing men counteth most good and profitable.  
 And euery person in his owne gift hath ioy 325  
 The foole in his bable hath pleasure for to toy.  
 The clerke in his bookes, the merchaunt in riches,  
 The knight in his horse, harnes and hardynes.  
 But euery person of his giftes and art,  
 When nede requireth should gladly geue some part. 330  
 Suche meane conioyneth in bonde of loue certayne,  
 Englande and Fraunce, Scotlande, Grece and Spain.  
 So hast thou Codrus of golde ynough in store,  
 And I some cunning, though fewe men care therfore.

---

Hoc amor/hoc pietas/hoc uult deus: *omnia non*  
 dat

Omnibus/ut nemo sibi sit satis. *indigeatque*  
 Alter ope alterius. *quæ res coniungit in unum*  
 Omne genus. *gallos/mauros/italos/& iberos.*

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Thou art beholden to Iupiter truely, 335  
 And I beholden to pleasaunt Mercury.  
 Ioyne we our starres, let me haue part of thine,  
 Concorde to cherishe, thou shalt haue part of mine.  
 Make thou Iupiter be frendly vnto me,  
 And our Mercury shalbe as good to thee. 340  
 If thy Iupiter geue me but onely golde,  
 Mercury shall geue thee giftes manyfolde.  
 His pillion,<sup>1</sup> scepter, his winges and his harpe,  
 If thou haue all these thou mayst grathly<sup>2</sup> carpe.  
 And ouer all these geue thee shall Mercury 345  
 The knot of Hercules inlaced craftyly.

*Codrus*

Lorde God, Minalcas, why haste thou all this payne  
 Thus wise to forge so many wordes in vayne.

*Minalcas*

That vayne thou countest which may hurt or inlesse  
 Thy loued treasure, or minishe thy riches: 350  
 If thou wilt harken or heare my Muses sing,  
 Refreshe my mindes with confort and liking,  
 Rid me fro troubles and care of busynes,  
 Confort my courage which now is comfortlesse.  
 A clerke or poete combined with a boye,<sup>3</sup> 355  
 To haunt the Muses or write hath litle ioye.  
 The wit and reason is dull or of valour  
 Like as the body is called to honour.  
 When busy charges causeth a man to gro[n]e,\*  
 The wit then slumbreth,<sup>4</sup> and Muses all be gone. 360  
 A ditie will haue minde quiet and respite,

Sidera iungamus. facito mihi iupiter adsit:  
 Et tibi mercurius noster dabit omnia faxo.  
 Pilleolum/uirgam/citharas. nodum herculis/alas.

Sylu. Vana superuacuis inculcas plurima uerbis.  
 Cand. Vana inquis/quæ damna tuis inferre uidentur  
 Diuitiis. si uis nostras audire camœnas/  
 Erue sopitam de sollicitudine mentem.

\* Cawood: 'groue.'

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

And ease of stomake, els can none well indite,  
I sighe, I slumber, care troubleth oft my thought,  
When some by malice mine art setteth at nought.  
I hewle as a kite for hunger and for golde,<sup>1</sup> 365  
For thought and study my youth appereth olde:  
My skin hath wrinkles and pimples round about,  
For colde and study I dreade me of the gowte.  
When sickenes commeth then life hath breuitie  
By false vnkindnes and wretched pouertie. 370  
If men were louing, benigne and charitable,  
Then were pouertie both good and tollerable:  
But since charitie and pitie both be gone,  
What should pouertie remayne behinde alone.  
No man hath pitie, eche dayneth me to feede, 375  
I lost haue confort, but still remayneth neede:  
I haue no wethers nor ewes in my folde,  
No siluer in purse, I knowe not what is golde:  
No corne on the grounde haue I whereon to fare,  
Then would thou haue me to liue auoyde of care. 380  
Nay nay frende Codrus, trust me, I thee assure  
Such maner salues can not my dolour cure.  
Make thou me iocunde, helpe me with cloth and foode,  
Clothe me for winter with pilche, felt and hoode.  
Auoyde all charges, let me sit in my cell, 385  
Let worldly wretches with worldly matters mell.  
Succoure my age, regarde my heares gray,  
Then shalt thou proue and see what thing I may:

---

Vult hilares animos. tranquillaque pectora  
carmen.

Torpeo/ut exuriem patiens & frigora miluus.  
Iam dudum squarrosa cutis/situs occupat ora.  
Nec pecus in stabulis/nec in agro farra/nec  
aurum

In loculis/& uis positis me uiuere curis?  
Non facit ad nostros talis medicina dolores.  
Fac alacrem: tege/pasce/graui succurre senectæ.

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Then shalt thou finde me both apt to write and sing,  
 Good will shall fulfill my scarcenes of cunning, 390  
 A plentiful house out chaseth thought and care,  
 Sojourne doth sorowe there where all thing is bare,  
 The seller couched with bere, with ale or wine,  
 And<sup>1</sup> meates ready when man hath lust to dine.  
 Great barnes full, fat wethers in the folde, 395  
 The purse well stu[ff]ed\*\* with siluer and with golde.  
 Fauour of frendes, and suche as loueth right  
 All these and other do make thee full light,  
 Then is it pleasure the yonge maydens amonge  
 To wathe by the fire the winters nightes longe: 400  
 At their fonde tales to laugh, or when they brall,  
 Great fire and candell spending for laboure small,  
 And in the ashes some playes for to marke,  
 To couer wardens<sup>3</sup> for fault of other warke.  
 To taste white sheuers,<sup>4</sup> and to make prophitroles,<sup>5</sup> 405  
 And after talking oft time to fill the bowles.  
 Where wealth aboundeth without rebuke or crime,  
 Thus do some hearde for pleasure and pastime:  
 As fame reporteth, such a Shepherde there was,  
 Which that time liued vnder Mecenas. 410  
 And Titerus (I trowe) was this shepherdes name,  
 I well remember aliue yet is his fame.  
 He songe of fieldes and tilling of the grounde,<sup>6</sup>  
 Of shepe, of oxen, and battayle did he sounde.

Inuenies promptum uersu/& cantare paratum.  
 Plena domus curas abigit. cellaria plena.  
 Plœna penus. plenique cadi. plenæque lagenæ.  
 Hordea plena. greges læti: grauis ære crumena.  
 Tunc iuuat hybernos noctu uigilare decembres  
 Ante focum: & cineri ludos inarare bacillo.  
 Torrere & tepidis tostas operire fauillis  
 Castaneas: plenoque sitim restringere uitro,  
 Fabellasque internentes ridere puellas,  
 Tityrus ut fama est sub mœcenate uetusto  
 Rura/boues/& agros/& martia bella canebat

\* Cawood: 'stusted.'

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

So shrill he sounded in termes eloquent, 415  
I trowe his tunes went to the firmament.  
The same Mecenas to him was free and kinde,  
Whose large giftes gaue confort to his minde:  
Also this Shepherde by heauenly influence  
I trowe obtayned his pereless eloquence. 420  
We other Shepherdes be greatly different,  
Of common sortes, leane, ragged and rent.  
Fed with rude frowise,<sup>1</sup> with quacham,<sup>2</sup> or with crudd,  
Or slimy kempes<sup>3</sup> ill smelling of the mud,  
Such rusty meates inblindeth so our brayne, 425  
That of our fauour the muses haue disdayne:  
And great Apollo despiseth that we write,  
For why rude wittes but rudely do indite.<sup>4</sup>

*Codrus*

I trust on fortune, if it be fauourable,  
My trust fulfilling, then shall I well be able 430  
Thy neede to succoure, I hope after a thing,  
And if fortune fall well after my liking,  
Trust me Minalcas, I shall deliuer thee  
Out of this trouble, care and calamitie.

*Minalcas*

A Codrus Codrus, I would to God thy will 435  
Were this time ready thy promise to fulfill  
After the power and might that thou haste nowe.  
Thou haste ynough for both, man God auowe.  
If thy good minde according with thy might,  
At this time present thou should my heart well light. 440

---

Altius: & magno pulsabat sidera cantu.  
Eloquium fortuna dabat. nos debile uulgas  
Pannosus macie affectos/farragine pastos  
Aoniæ fugiunt musæ/contemnit apollo.  
Sylu. Si sperata mihi dederit fortuna quod opto/  
Candide præsentī te sollicitudine soluam.  
Cand. O utinam syluane foret tibi tanta uoluntas/  
Quanta est hac etiam tibi tempestate facultas.

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

I aske not the store of Cosmus<sup>1</sup> or Capell,  
With silken robes I couete not to mell.  
No kinges dishes I couete nor desire,  
Nor riche mantels, or palles wrought in Tire:  
No cloth of golde, of Tissue nor veluet, 445  
Damaske nor Sattin, nor orient Scarlet.  
I aske no value of Peters costly cope,  
Shield of Minerua, nor patin of Esope.  
I aske no palace, nor lodging curious,  
No bed of state, of rayment sumptuous. 450  
For this I learned of the Dean of Powles,<sup>2</sup>  
I tell thee Codrus, this man hath won some soules.  
I aske no treasure nor store of worldly good,  
But a quiet life, and onely cloth and foode,  
With homely lodging to keepe me warme and drye 455  
Induring my life, forsooth no more aske I.  
If I were certayne this liuing still to haue,  
Auoyde of trouble, no more of God I craue.

*Codrus*

This liuing haste thou, what needest thou complayne,  
Nothing thou wantest which may thy life sustayne: 460  
What feele man, pardie thy chekes be not thin,  
No lacke of vitayle causeth a double chin.

*Minalcas*

Some beast is lustie and fat of his nature,  
Though he sore laboure, and go in bad pasture.  
And some beast agayne still leane and poore is seene, 465

---

Non ego diuitias cosmi non serica posco  
Pallia/non tyrias chlamides/non prandia regum.  
Non patinam esopi fameo/clypeumue mineruæ.  
Nil opus est regis laribus/cui ferrea nomen  
Tradidit/aut si mens non fallitur/ænea barba.  
Hæc me iam pridem memini didicisse sub um-  
bro.<sup>3</sup>

Postulo uestitum/peto uictum sub lare paruo  
Certior istud opis toti non defore uitæ. 466

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Though it fatly fare within a medowe greene.  
Though thou would (Codrus) stil argue til to morow,  
I licke no dishes which sauced be with sorowe.  
Better one small dish with ioy and heart liking  
Then diuers daynties with murmure and grutching.<sup>1</sup> 470  
And men vnlearned can neuer be content,  
When scolers common, and clerkes be present.  
Assoone as clerkes begin to talke and chat,  
Some other glowmes,<sup>2</sup> and hath enuy thereat.  
It is a torment a clerke to sit at borde, 475  
And of his learning not for to talke one worde.  
Better were to be with clerkes with a crust,  
Then at such tables to fare at will and lust.  
Let me haue the borde of olde Pithagoras,  
Which of temperaunce a very father was. 480  
Of Philosophers the moderate riches,  
In youth or age I loued neuer excesse.  
Some boast and promise, and put men in confort  
Of large giftes, moste men be of this sort,  
With mouth and promise for to be liberall, 485  
When nede requireth, then geue they nought at all.  
All onely in thee is fixed all my trust,  
If thou fayle promise then rowle I in the dust,  
My hope is faded, then shall my songe be dom  
Like a Nightingale at the solstitium. 490  
If thou fayle promise, my comfort cleane is lost,  
Then may I hange my pipe vpon the poste:  
Shet the shopwindowes for lacke of marchaundice,  
Or els for because that easy is the price.

---

Sint mihi pytagoreæ mensæ codrique supellex.  
Sæpe alios qui spem dederint inuenimus ore  
Magnificos/sed re modicos. tibi fidimus uni.  
Tu mihi si fueris mendax/præciditur omnis  
Spes: ut solsticio fiam philomena reuerso  
Mutus/& elinguis. suspendere postibus arma  
Tempus erit/clausoque abigi spectacula circo.

# The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

## Codrus

Minalcas, if thou the court of Rome haste seene, With forked cappes <sup>1</sup> or els if thou haste beene, Or noble Prelates by riches excellent, Thou well perceyuest they be magnificent. With them be clerkes and pleasaunt Oratours, And many Poetes promoted to honours, There is aboundaunce of all that men desire, There men hath honour before they it require: In such fayre fieldes without labour or payne Both wealth and riches thou lightly mayst obtayne.	495
	500

## Minalcas

Thou art abused, and thinkest wrong doubtlesse To thinke that I am desirous of riches. To feede on rawe fleshe it is a wolues gise, Wherefore he weneth all beastes do likewise. Because the blinde man halteth and is lame, In minde he thinketh that all men do the same. So for that thy selfe desirest good in store, All men thou iudget infected with like sore. Codrus, I couet not to haue aboundaunce, Small thing me pleaseth, I aske but suffisaunce. Graunt me a liuing sufficient and small, And voyde of troubles, I aske no more at all. But with that litle I holde my selfe content, If sauce of sorowe my mindes not torment.	505
	510
	515

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Sylu. Candide uidisti\* romam/sanctique senatus  
Pontifices/ubi tot uates/ubi copia rerum  
Tantarum? facile est illis ditescere campis.

Cand. Deciperis me uelle putans ditescere. uesci  
Et lupus omne animal crudis existimat escis.  
Tuque putas alios quo tu pede claudere† passum.  
Non ego ditari cupio: sed uiuere paruo.  
Fac habeam tenuem sine solitudine uictum.

\* 'nidisti'    † 'clandere'



*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Of the court of Rome forsooth I haue heard tell,  
 With forked cappes it folly is to mell. 520  
 Micene<sup>1</sup> and Morton be dead and gone certayne,  
 They, nor their like shall neuer retorne agayne.  
 O Codrus Codrus, Augustus and Edward<sup>2</sup>  
 Be gone for euer, our fortune is more harde.  
 The scarlet robes in songe haue small delite, 525  
 What should I trauayle, in Rome is no profite.  
 It geueth mockes and scornes manyfolde,  
 Still catching coyne, and gaping after golde,  
 Fraude and disceyte doth all the world fill,  
 And money reyneth and doth all thing at will. 530  
 And for that people would more intende to gile,  
 Vertue and truth be driuen into exile.  
 We are commaunded to trust for time to come  
 Till care and sorowe hath wasted our wisdom.  
 Hope of rewarde hath Poetes them to feede, 535  
 Nowe in the worlde fayre wordes be their mede.

*Codrus*

Then write of battayles, or actes of men bolde,  
 Or mightie princes, they may thee well vpholde,  
 These worthy rulers of fame and name royall  
 Of very reason ought to be liberall. 540  
 Some shalt thou finde betwene this place and Kent,  
 Which for thy labour shall thee right well content.

---

Hoc contentus eam romana palatia uidi.  
 Sed quid romana putas mihi proderit? o syluane  
 Occidit augustus nunquam rediturus ab orco.  
 Si quid romana dabit/nugas dabit/accipit aurum  
 Verba dat. heu romæ nunc sola pecunia regnat.  
 Exilium uirtus patitur? sperare iubemur  
 Vndique & in toto uates spe pascimur orbe.  
 Sylu. Dic pugnās/dic gesta uirum/dic prœlia regum.  
 Vertere ad hos/qui sceptrā tenent/qui regna  
 gubernant.  
 Inuenies qui te de sordibus eruat istis.

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

*Minalcas*

Yea, some shall I finde which be so prodigall,  
That in vayne thinges spende and cleane wasteth all;  
But howe should that man my pouertie sustayne, 545  
Which nought reserueth his honoure to mayntayne.  
For auncient bloud nor auncient honoure  
In these our dayes be nought without treasure.  
The coyne auaunceth, neede doth the name deiect;  
And where is treasure olde honour hath effect. 550  
But suche as be riche and in promotion  
Shall haue my writing but in derision.  
For in this season great men of excellence,  
Haue to poemes no greater reuerence, Cy  
Then to a brothell or els a brothelhouse, 555  
Mad ignoraunce is so contagious.

*Codrus*

It is not seming a Poet thus to iest  
In wrathfull speeche, nor wordes dishonest.

*Minalcas*

It is no iesting be thou neuer so wroth,  
In open language to say nothing but troth: 560  
If peradventure thou would haue troth kept still,  
Prouoke thou not me to anger at thy will.  
When wrath is moued, then reason hath no might,  
The tonge forgetteth discretion and right.

*Codrus*

To moue thy minde I truely were full lothe, 565  
To geue good counsell is farre from being wroth.

---

Cand. Inueniam qui me derideat: & subsannet.  
Tempestate ista reuerentia tanta pœsi/  
Quanta lupanari. quid me syluane lacessis?  
Sylu. Non decet obscœnis uatem prorumpere uerbis.  
Cand. Non possum non uera loqui: si uera taceri  
Forte uelis/leuibus me parce lacessere dictis.  
Sylu. Vtile consilium prestare/lacessere non est.

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

*Minalcas*

As touching counsell, my minde is plentifull,  
But neede and troubles make all my reason dull,  
If I had counsell and golde in like plentie,  
I tell thee Codrus, I had no neede of thee. 570  
Howe should a Poet, poore, bare and indigent,  
Indite the actes of princes excellent,  
While scant is he worth a knife his pipe to mende,  
To rounde the holes, to clense or picke the ende.  
Beholde, my whittle almoste hath lost the blade, 575  
So long time past is sith the same was made:  
The haft is bruised, the blade not worth a strawe,  
Rusty and toothed, not much vnlike a sawe.  
But touching this hurt, it is but light and small,  
But care and trouble is grieuous payne withall. 580  
Good counsell helpeth, making the wittes stable,  
Ill counsell maketh the mindes variable,  
And breaketh the brayne, diminishing the strength,  
And all the reason confoundeth at the length.  
Great men are shamed to geue thing poore or small, 585  
And great they denye, thus geue they nought at all.  
Beside this (Codrus) princes and men royall  
In our inditinges haue pleasure faint and small.

---

Cand. Consilii locuples ego: sed pauperrimus auri.  
Qui pugnās/qui gesta uirum/qui prœlia regum  
Dicet inops uates/cui nec quo fistula possit  
Aptius incidi/ferique foramina/culter?  
Aspice ut excussis luxata manubria clauis/  
Vt dentata acies/ueterique simillima serræ.  
Hoc leue. sed mensæ graue & intolerabile  
damnum.  
Vtile consilium firmit/sed inutile mentem  
Frangit: & extenuat uires/animumque retundit.  
Magnates dare parua pudet / dare magna re-  
cusant.  
Adde quod & nostri curant ita carmina reges/

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

So much power haue they with men of might,  
As simple doues when Egles take their flight: 590  
Or as great windes careth for leaues drye.  
They liue in pleasure and wealth continually,  
In lust their liking is, and in ydlenes,  
Fewe haue their mindes cleane from all viciousnes:  
Pleasure is thing whereto they moste intende, 595  
That they moste cherishe, they would haue men  
concond.<sup>1</sup>

If Poetes should their maners magnify,  
They were supporters of blame and lechery:  
Then should their writing be nothing commendable,  
Conteyning iestes and deedes detestable 600  
Of stinking Uenus or loue inordinate,  
Of ribaude wordes which fall not for a state,  
Of right oppressed, and beastly gluttony,  
Of vice aduaunced, of slouth and iniury,  
And other deedes infame and worthy blame, 605  
Which were ouerlonge here to recount or name.  
These to commende (Codrus) do not agree  
To any Poete which loueth chastitie.

*Codrus*

What yes Minalcas, some haue bene stronge and bolde,  
Which haue in battayle done actes manyfolde, 610  
With mighty courage hauing them in fight,  
And boldly biding for to maynteyne the right.  
To thee could I nowe rehearse well nere a score  
Of lust nor riches setting no force ne store.  
Despising oft golde, sweete fare and beddes soft, 615

Vt frondes aquilo/mare libs/uineta pruinæ.  
Ipsi ad delitias reges & ad ocia uersi  
Quod celebrant laudari optant. hinc carmina  
manant  
Perdita de studio ueneris/de scurrilitate/  
De ganea/de segnitie/de infamibus actis:  
Quæ castum capitale nefas celebrare poetam.

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Which in colde harnes lye on the grounde full oft,  
Closed in yron, which when their woundes blede,  
Want bread and drinke them to restore and feede.  
While some haue pleasure in softe golde orient,  
With colde harde yron their minde is well content. 620  
Such were the sonnes of noble lorde Hawarde,<sup>1</sup>  
Whose famous actes may shame a faint cowarde.  
What could they more but their swete liues spende,  
Their princes quarell and right for to defende:  
Alas that battayle should be of that rigour, 625  
When fame and honour riseth and is in floure,  
With sodayne furour then all to quenche agayne,  
But boldest heartes be nerest death certayne.

*Minalcas*

For certayne (Codrus) I can not that denye,  
But some in battayle behaue them manfully, 630  
Such as in battayle do actes marciall,  
Laude worthy Poetes and stile heroicall:  
The pleasaunt Muses which soundeth grauitie  
Had helpe and fauour while these were in degree.  
But sith stronge knightes hath left their exercise, 635  
And manly vertue corrupted is with vice,  
The famous Poetes which ornately indite  
Haue founde no matter whereof to singe or write.  
The wit thus dyeth of poetes auncient,  
So doth their writing and ditie eloquent. 640  
For lacke of custome, thought, care and penury,  
These be confounders of pleasaunt poecy.

---

At qui dura manu gesserunt bella potenti  
Fortiter utentes ferro/non molliter auro/  
Dilexere graues musas. heroica facta  
Qui faciunt reges heroica carmina laudant.  
Vt cessere uiri fortes/& mascula uirtus/  
Dicendum altiloqui nihil inuenere poetæ.  
Occidit ingenium uatum: ruit alta pœsis.

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

But if some prince, some king or conquerour  
 Hath won in armes or battayle great honour:  
 Full litle they force for to delate their fame, 645  
 That other realmes may laude or prayse their name.  
 Of time for to come they force nothing at all,  
 By fame and honour to liue as immortal:  
 It them suffiseth, they count ynough truely  
 That their owne realmes their names magnify. 650  
 And that for their life they may haue laude and fame,  
 After their death then seeke they for no name.  
 And some be vntaught and learned no science,  
 Or els they disdayne hie stile of eloquence:  
 Then standeth the Poet and his poeme arere, 655  
 When princes disdayne them for to reade or here.  
 Or els some other is drowned all in golde,  
 By couetise kept in cares manyfolde.  
 By flagrant ardour inflamed in suche case,  
 As in time past the olde king Midas was. 660  
 Then of poemes full small pleasure haue  
 Couetise and clergy' full lewdly do agree  
 Beside this (Codrus) with princes commonly  
 Be vntaught courtiers fulfilled with enuy. 665  
 Iugglers and Pipers, bourders and flatterers,  
 Baudes and Ianglers, and cursed aduoutrers:  
 And mo such other of liuing vicious,  
 To whom is vertue aduerse and odious.

At si forte aliquis regum gerit aspera bella.  
 Et decus armorum studiis belloque parauit.  
 Nil genus externum uenturaque sæcula curat.  
 Laude suæ gentis satur/ & præsentibus annis.  
 Barbarus est: neque carmen amat/ uel auarus in  
 auro  
 Mergitur: atque midæ curis flagrantibus ardet.  
 Est & apud reges. rudis/ inuida/ rustica turba:  
 Mimmus/ adulator/ læno/ assentator/ adulter:  
 Histrio/ scurra: quibus uirtus odiosa. poetas

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

These do good Poetes forth of all courtes chase,  
By thousande maners of threatning and manace, 670  
Sometime by fraudes, sometime by ill reporte,  
And them assisteth all other of their sort:  
Like as when cures light on a carion,  
Or stinking rauens fed with corruption:  
These two all other away do beate and chace, 675  
Because they alone would occupy the place.  
For vnto cures is carion moste meete,  
And also rauens fele stinking thinges sweete.  
Another thing yet is greatly more damnable,  
Of rascolde poetes yet is a shamfull rable, 680  
Which voyde of wisdomes presumeth to indite,  
Though they haue scantly the cunning of a snite:<sup>1</sup>  
And to what vices that princes moste intende,  
Those dare these fooles solemnize and commende.  
Then is he decked as Poete laureate, 685  
When stinking Thais made him her graduate.  
When Muses rested, she did her season note,  
And she with Bacchus her camous<sup>2</sup> did promote:  
Such rascolde drames<sup>3</sup> promoted by Thais,  
Bacchus, Licoris, or yet by Testalis, 690  
Or by suche other newe forged Muses nine  
Thinke in their mindes for to haue wit diuine.  
They laude their verses, they boast, they vaunt and iet,  
Though all their cunning be scantly worth a pet.  
If they haue smelled the artes triniall, 695

---

Mille modis abigunt: ut quando cadauera corui  
Inuenere/fugant alias uolucresque ferasque.  
Sunt etiam uates quidam sine lege petulci/<sup>4</sup>  
Qui sine lege aliti sine præceptoribus audent  
Quicquid amant reges/& amant infamia solum  
Scribere. nam uates etiam dementia uexat.  
Hi se nescio qua mentis leuitate poetas  
Esse uolunt postquam triuialibus ora cicutis  
Applicuere. sibi applaudunt: sua carmina iactant

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

They count them Poetes hye and heroicall.  
Such is their folly, so foolishly they dote,  
Thinking that none can their playne error note:  
Yet be they foolishe, auoyde of honestie,  
Nothing seasoned with spice of grauitie, 700  
Auoyde of pleasure, auoyde of eloquence,  
With many wordes, and fruitlesse of sentence.  
Unapt to learne, disdayning to be taught,<sup>1</sup>  
Their priuate pleasure in snare hath them so caught:  
And worst yet of all, they count them excellent, 705  
Though they be fruitlesse, rashe and improuident.  
To such Ambages who doth their minde incline,  
They count all other as priuate of<sup>2</sup> doctrine,  
And that the faultes which be in them alone,  
Also be common in other men eche one. 710  
Thus bide good Poetes oft time rebuke and blame,  
Because of other which haue despised name.  
And thus for the bad the good be cleane abiect,  
Their art and poeme counted of none effect.  
Who wanteth reason good to discerne from ill 715  
Doth worthy writers interprete at his will:  
So both the laudes of good and not laudable  
For lacke of knowledge become vituperable.

*Codrus*

In fayth Minalcas, I well allowe thy wit,  
Yet would I gladly heare nowe some mery fit 720  
Of mayde Marion, or els of Robin hood,  
Or Bentleyes ale which chaseth well the bloud:  
Of perte of Norwiche, or sauce of Wilberton,<sup>3</sup>  
Or buckishe Ioly well stuffed as a ton:  
Talke of the bottell, let go the booke for nowe, 725  
Combrous is cunning I make to God a vowe.

Insulsi/illepidi/indociles/improuidi/inepti.  
Qui solet his uacuas præbere ambagibus aures  
Id uicium commune putat. doctisque resistit  
Vatibus a uero indoctus discernere falsum.



*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Speake of some matter which may refresh my brayne,  
Trust me Minalcas, I shall rewarde thy payne.  
Els talke of stoutenes, where is more brayne then wit,  
Place moste abused that we haue spoke of yet. 730

*Minalcas*

Of all these thinges language to multiply,  
Except I lyed, should be but vilany.  
It is not seeming a Poete one to blame  
All if his hauour hath won diffamed name.  
And though such beastes pursue me with enuy, 735  
Malgre for malice, that payment I defye.  
My master teacheth, so doth reason and skill,  
That man should restore, and render good for ill.

*Codrus*

Then talke of somewhat, lo it is longe to night,  
Yet hath the sonne more then an houre of light, 740

*Minalcas*

If I ought common sounding to grauitie,  
I feare to obtayne but small rewarde of thee:  
But if I common of vice or wantonnes,  
Then of our Lorde shall my rewarde be lesse,  
Wherfore my ballade shall haue conclusion 745  
On fruitfull clauses of noble Salomon.

*Codrus*

Sing on Minalcas, he may do litle thing,  
Which to a ballade disdayneth the hearing:  
But if thy ditie accorde not to my minde,  
Then my rewarde and promise is behinde, 750  
By mans maners it lightly doth appere,  
What men desire, that loue they for to here.

*Minalcas*

Though in thy promise I finde no certentie,  
Yet of my cunning shalt thou haue part of me,  
I call no muses to geue to me doctrine, 755  
But ayde and confort of strength and might diuine,  
To clere my reason with wisdom and prudence  
To sing one ballade extract of sapience.

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

**A**S medoes paynted with floures redolent  
The sight reioyce of suche as them beholde: 760  
So man indued with vertue excellent  
Fragrantly shineth with beames manyfolde.  
Uertue with wisdomed exceedeth store of gold,  
If riches abound, set not on them thy trust.  
When strength is sturdy, then man is pert and bolde, 765  
But wit and wisdomed soone lay him in the dust.

That man is beastly which sueth carnall lust,  
Spende not on women thy riches or substaunce,  
For lacke of vsing as stele or yron rust,  
So rusteth reason by wilfull ignoraunce. 770  
In fraudfull beautie set but small pleasaunce,  
A pleasaunt apple is oft corrupt within,  
Grounde thee in youth on goodly gouernaunce,  
It is good token when man doth well begin.

Ioy not in malice, that is a mortall sinne, 775  
Man is perceyued by language and doctrine,  
Better is to lose then wrongfully to winne,  
He loueth wisdomed which loueth discipline:  
Rashe enterprises oft bringeth to ruine,  
A man may contende, God geueth victory, 780  
Set neuer thy minde on thing which is not thine,  
Trust not in honour, all wealth is transitory,

Combine thou thy tonge with reason and memory,  
Speake not to hasty without aduisement,  
So liue in this life that thou mayst trust on glory, 785  
Which is not caduke, but lasting permanent.  
There is no secrete with people vinolent,  
By beastly surfeit the life is breuiate,  
Though some haue pleasure in sumptuous garment,  
Yet goodly maners him maketh more ornate. 790

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

*Codrus*

Ho there Minalcas, of this haue we ynough,  
What should a Ploughman go farther then his plough,  
What should a shepherde in wisdom wade so farre,  
Talke he of tankarde, or of his boxe of tarre.  
Tell somewhat els, wherein is more conforte, 795  
So shall the season and time seeme light and short.

*Minalcas*

For thou of Hawarde nowe lately did recite,  
I haue a ditie which Cornix<sup>1</sup> did indite:  
His death complayning, but it is lamentable  
To heare a Captayne so good and honorable, 800  
So soone withdrawen by deathes crueltie,  
Before his vertue was at moste hye degree.  
If death for a season had shewed him fauour,  
To all his nation he should haue bene honour,  
Alas, bolde heartes be nerest death in warre, 805  
When out of daunger cowardes stande a farre.

*Codrus*

All if that ditie be neuer so lamentable,  
Refrayne my teares I shall as I am able, C vj  
Begin Minalcas, tell of the bolde hawarde,  
If fortune fauour hope after some rewarde. 810

*Minalcas*

I pray thee Codrus (my whey is weake and thin)  
Lende me thy bottell to drinke or I begin.

*Codrus*

If ought be tasted, the remnant shall pall,  
I may not aforde nowe for to spende out all.  
We sit in shadowe, the Sunne is not feruent, 815  
Call for it after, then shall I be content.

*Minalcas*

Still thou desirest thy pleasure of my art,  
But of thy bottell nought wilt thou yet depart,  
Though thou be nigard, and nought wilt geue of thine,  
Yet this one time thou shalt haue part of mine. 820  
Nowe harken Codrus, I tell mine elegy,

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

But small is the pleasure of dolefull armony.<sup>1</sup>

The description of the Tovvre of *vertue and honour*,  
*into the which the noble Hawarde contended to enter by*  
*worthy actes of chivalry.*<sup>1</sup>

*Minalcas speaketh*

**H**igh on a mountayne of highnes maruelous,  
With pendant clifles of stones harde as flent,  
Is made a castell or toure moste curious, 825  
Dreadfull vnto sight, but inwarde excellent.  
Such as would enter finde paynes and torment,  
So harde is the way vnto the same mountayne,  
Streight, hye and thorny, turning and different,  
That many labour for to ascende in vayne. 830

Who doth perseuer, and to this towre attayne,  
Shall haue great pleasure to see the building olde,  
Ioyned and graued, surmounting mans brayne,  
And all the walles within of fynest golde, 835  
With olde historyes, and pictures manyfolde,  
Glistering as bright as Phebus orient,  
With marble pillars the building to vpholde,  
About be turrets of shape moste excellent.

This towre is gotten by labour diligent,  
In it remayne such as haue won honoure 840  
By holy liuing, by strength or tournament,  
And moste by wisdomes attayne vnto this towre:  
Briefely, all people of godly behauour,  
By rightwise battayle, Iustice and equitie,  
Or that in mercy hath had a chiefe pleasour: 845  
In it haue rowmes eche after his degree,

This goodly Castell (thus shining in beautie)  
Is named Castell of vertue and honour,  
In it eyght Henry is in his maiestie

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Moste hye enhaunsed as ought a conquerour: 850  
In it remayneth the worthy gouernour,  
A stocke and fountayne of noble progeny,  
Moste noble Hawarde the duke and protectour,  
Named of Northfolke the floure of chivalry.

Here is the Talbot<sup>1</sup> manfull and hardy, 855  
With other princes and men of dignitie,  
Which to win honour do all their might apply,  
Supporting Iustice, concorde and equitie:  
The manly Corson<sup>2</sup> within this towre I see,  
These haue we seene eche one in his estate, 860  
With many other of hye and meane degree,  
For marciall actes with crownes laureate.

Of this stronge castell is porter at the gate  
Strong sturdy labour, much like a champion,  
But goodly vertue a lady moste ornate 865  
Within gouerneth with great prouision:  
But of this castell in the moste hiest trone  
Is honour shining in rowme imperiall,  
Which vnrewarded of them leaueth not one  
That come by labour and vertue principall. 870

Fearefull is labour without fauour at all,  
Dreadfull of visage, a monster intreatable,  
Like Cerberus lying at gates infernall,  
To some men his looke is halfe intollerable,  
His shoulders large, for burthen strong and able, 875  
His body bristled, his necke mightie and stiffe,  
By sturdy senewes his ioyntes stronge and stable,  
Like marble stones his handes be as stiffe.

Here must man vanquishe the dragon of Cadmus,  
Against the Chimer here stoutly must he fight, 880  
Here must he vanquish the fearefull Pegasus,  
For the golden flece here must he shewe his might:

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

If labour gaynsay, he can nothing be right,  
This monster labour oft chaungeth his figure,  
Sometime an oxe, a bore, or lion wight 885  
Playnely he seeme[t]h,\* thus chaungeth his nature.

Like as Protheus oft chaunged his stature,  
Mutable of figure oft times in one houre,  
When Aristeus in bondes had him sure: 890  
To diuers figures likewise chaungeth labour,  
Under his browes he dreadfully doth loure,  
With glistering eyen, and side dependaunt beard,  
For thirst and hunger alway his chere is soure,  
His horned forehead doth make faynt heartes feard.

Alway he drinketh, and yet alway is drye, 895  
The sweat distilling with droppes aboundaunt,  
His breast and forehead doth humours multiply  
By sweating showres, yet is this payne pleasaunt:  
Of day and night his resting time is scant,  
No day ouerpassest exempt of busynes, 900  
His sight infourmeth the rude and ignorant,  
Who dare perseuer, he geueth them riches.

None he auaunceth but after stedfastnes,  
Of litle burthen his bely is, and small,  
His mighty thyes his vigour doth expres, 905  
His shankes sturdy, and large feete withall:  
By wrath he rageth, and still doth chide and brall,  
Such as would enter repelling with his crye,  
As well estates as homely men rurall  
At the first entry he threatneth yrefully. 910

I trowe olde fathers (whom men nowe magnify),  
Called this monster Minerua stoute and soure,  
For strength and senewes of man moste commonly  
Are tame and febled by cures and labour.

\* Cawood: 'seemeeh.'

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Great Hercules the mighty conquerour 915  
Was by this monster ouercome\* and superate,<sup>1</sup>  
All if he before vnto his great honour  
The sonne of Uenus had strongly subiugate.

Who would with honour be purely laureate,  
Must with this monster longe time before contende, 920  
But lightly is man ouercome and fatigate,  
To lady vertue if he not well intende:  
When strength is febled she helpeth at the ende,  
Opening the gates and passage to honour,  
By whose assistaunce soone may a man ascende 925  
The hye degrees of the triumphant Tour.

Mankinde inflamed by goodly behauour  
Of lady vertue come to this towre with payne,  
But for the entree pretendeth them rigour  
Many one abasheth, rebuking backe agayne: 930  
To purchase honour they would be glad and fayne,  
But fearefull labour, the porter is so fell,  
To them proclaiming, their enterprise is vayne,  
Except they before with him contende and mell.

Here moste of all muste mans might excell 935  
With stedfast courage and sure perseueraunce,  
Els shall this monster him backe agayne repell,  
But man preuayleth by long continuaunce.  
No costly treasour nor Iewell of pleasaunce  
Without price or payne can man in earth come by: 940  
So without labour doth vertue none aduaunce  
To parfite honour and noble seignory.

Faynt cowarde mindes soone at the first escry  
Of sturdie labour, fall to the grounde as lame,  
Els runne they backwarde fast fleing cowardly, 945  
As hartles wretches caring nothing for shame:  
But noble heartes to win immortall name,

\* Cawood: 'ouerccome.'

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Fight at these gates till they ouercome labour,  
Then lady vertue with good report and fame  
Suche knightes gideth to laude and hye honour. 950

But cruell fortune to some is harde and soure,  
That after trauell and many deadly wounde,  
When lady vertue should graunt to them this toure  
Then frowarde fortune them beateth to the ground:  
Of this examples ouer many do abounde, 955  
But chiefly this one, the noble lorde Hawarde,  
When he chiefe honour was worthy to haue founde,  
False death and fortune bereft him his rewarde.

Longe he contended in battayle strong and harde,  
With payne and labour, with might repelling wrong, 960  
No backe he turned as doth some faint cowarde,  
But with this monster boldly contended long,  
When he had broken the locke and doores stronge,  
Ouercome the porter, and should ascende the toure,  
To liue in honour hye conquerours amonge, 965  
Then cruell fortune and death did him deuoure.

Though he were borne to glory and honour,  
Of auncient stocke and noble progenie,  
Yet thought his courage to be of more valour,  
By his owne actes and noble chivalry. 970  
Like as becommeth a knight to fortifye  
His princes quarell with right and equitie,  
So did this hawarde with courage valiauntly,  
Till death abated his bolde audacitie.

O happy Samson more fortunate then he 975  
Onely in strength, but not in hye courage,  
O cruell fortune why durst thy crueltye  
This floure of knighthood to slea in lusty age,  
Thou hast debated the floure of his linage,  
If thou had mercy bewaile his death thou might, 980



*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

For cruell lions and mo beastes sauage  
Long time not ceased for to bewayle this knight,

[O]\* death thou haste done agaynst both lawe and right<sup>1</sup>  
To spare a cowarde without daunger or wounde,  
And thus soone to quench of chialry the light, 985  
O death enuious moste enemie to our grounde,  
What moste auayleth thou soonest doest confounde:  
Why did not vertue assist hir champion?  
Thou might haue ayded, for soothly thou was bounde,  
For during his life he loued thee alone, 990

O God almightie in thy eternall trone,  
To whom all vertue is deare and acceptable,  
If reason suffred to thee our crye and mone,  
This dede might impute and fortune lamentable,  
Thou might haue left vs this knight moste honorable, 995  
Our wealth and honour to haue kept in degree:  
Alas why hath death so false and disceyuable,  
Mankinde to torment this will and libertie?

It quencheth vertue, sparing iniquitie,  
The best it striketh, of bad hauing disdayne, 1000  
No helpe nor comfort hath our aduersitie,  
Death dayly striketh though dayly we complayne:  
To treate a tiran it is but thing in vayne,  
Mekenes prouoketh his wrath and tyranny,  
So at our prayer death hath the more disdayne, 1005  
We do by mekenes his furour multiply.

If some fell tiran replete with villany  
Should thus haue ending the dede were commendable;  
But a stoute capayne disposed to mercy  
So soone thus faded, the case is lamentable, 1010  
Was he not humble, iocunde and companable,  
No man despising, and first in all labour,

\* Cawood: 'N.'

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Right wise with mercy debonair and trefable,  
Mate and companion with euery souldier.

Uice he subdued by goodly behauour, 1015  
Like as a rider doth a wilde stede subdue,  
His body subiect, his soule was gouernour,  
From vice withdrawen to goodnes and vertue,  
When pride rebelled mekenes did it eschue,  
Free minde and almes subdued auarice: 1020  
Alway he noted this saying iuste and true,  
That noble mindes despised couetise.

His death declareth that slouth he did despise,  
By hardie courage as fyrst in ieopardie,  
Alway he vsed some noble exercise, 1025  
Suche as belongeth to worthy chiuallrie,  
In him was there founde no sparkle of enuy,  
Alway he lauded and praysed worthynes,  
Suche as were doughtie rewarding largely,  
Wrath saue in season he wisely coulde repres. 1030

Of wine or Bacchus despised he excesse,  
For mindes kindled to actes marciall,  
Seking for honour and name of doughtinesse,  
Despiseth surfet and liuing bestiall,  
In him no power hath luste venereall, 1035  
For busy labour and pleasaunt abstinence  
All corporall lust soone causeth for to fall,  
No lust subdueth where reigneth diligence.

He was a piller of sober countenaunce,  
His onely treasour and iewell was good name, 1040  
But O cursed death thy wrathfull violence,  
By stroke vnwarned halfe blinded of his fame,  
Whom may I accuse, whom may I put in blame,<sup>1</sup>  
God for death, or fortune, or impotent nature,  
God doth his pleasour, and death will haue the same, 1045

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Nature was mightie longe able to endure,

In fortune is the fault nowe am I sure,  
I would if I durst his tyranny accuse:  
O cursed fortune if thou be creature,  
Who gaue thee power thus people to abuse. Di 1050  
Thy mutable might me causeth oft to muse,  
When man is plunged in dolour and distresse,  
Thy face thou chaungest which did earst refuse,  
By sodayne chaunces him lifting to richesse.

And suche as longe time haue liued in noblenes 1055  
Anone thou plungest in payne and pouertie,  
Wealth, honour, strength, right, iustice and goodnes,  
Misery, dolour, lowe rowme, iniquitie,  
These thou rewardest like as it pleaseth thee,  
To mans merite without respect at all, 1060  
One this day being in great authoritie,  
Agayne to morowe thou causest for to fall.

When man is worthy a rowme imperiall,  
On him thou glowmest with frowarde countenaunce,  
Weake is thy promis reuoluing as a ball, 1065  
Thou hast no fauour to godly gouernaunce,  
No man by merite thou vset to aduaunce,  
O blinded fortune ofte time infortunate,  
When man thee trusteth then falleth some mischaunce,  
Unwarely chaunging his fortune and estate. 1070

Tell me frayle fortune, why did thou breuiate  
The liuing season of suche a captayne,  
That when his actes ought to be laureate  
Thy fauour turned him suffring to be slayne?  
I blame thee fortune and thee excuse agayne, 1075  
For though thy fauour to him was rigorous,  
Suche is thy custome for to be vncertayne,  
And namely when man is hye and glorious.

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

But moste worthy duke hye and victorious,  
Respire to comfort, see the vncertentie 1080  
Of other princes, whose fortune prosperous  
Oftetime haue ended in harde aduersitie:  
Read of Pompeius whose pereles dignitie  
Agaynst great Cesar did wealth of Rome defende,  
Whom after fortune brought in captiuitie, 1085  
And he in Egypt was headed at the ende.

In likewise Cesar which did with him contende  
When all the worlde to him was subiugate,  
From his hye honour did sodenly descende,  
Murdred in Rome by chaunce infortunate. 1090  
Cato and Seneke, with Tully laureate,  
These and mo like for all their sapience  
Hath proued fortune, sore blinding their estate,  
By wrongfull slaunders and deadly violence.

To poore and riche it hath no difference, 1095  
Olde Policrates supposing perill past,  
With death dishonest ended his excellence,  
Great Alexander by fortune was downe cast,  
One draught of poyson him filled at the last,  
Whom all the worlde earst could not saciate: 1100  
What is all honour and power but a blast,  
When fortune threatneth the life to breuiate.

Beholde on Pirrus the king infortunate  
With a small stone dead prostrate vpon the groundes,  
See Ualerian brought downe from his estate, 1105  
From his empire in Percy thrall and bounde.  
Of olde Priamus it is in writing founde,  
Howe he by Pyrrus was in his palace slayne,  
Paris and Hector receyued mortall wounde,  
To trust in fortune it is a thing in vayne. 1110

The mightie Cyrus a king of Realmes twayne

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Was slayne and his hoste of Thomiris the quene,  
Thus is no matter of fortune to complayne,  
All that newe falleth of olde time hath bene sene,  
This shall be, this is, and this hath euer bene, 1115  
That boldest heartes be nearest ieopardie,  
To dye in battayle is honour as men wene  
To suche as haue ioy in haunting chivalry.

Suche famous ending the name doth magnifie,  
Note worthy duke, no cause is to complayne, 1120  
His life not ended foule nor dishonestly,  
In bed<sup>t</sup> nor tauerne his lustes to maynteyne,  
But like as besemed a noble captayne,  
In sturdie harnes he died for the right,  
From deathes daunger no man may flee certayne, 1125  
But suche death is metest vnto so noble a knight.

But death it to call me thinke it vnright,  
Sith his worthy name shall laste perpetuall,  
To all his nation example and clere light,  
But to his progeny moste specially of all, 1130  
His soule is in pleasour of glory eternall,  
So duke most doughty ioy may that noble tree,  
Whose braunches honour shall neuer fade ne fall,  
While beast is on earth or fishes in the sea.

Lo Codrus I here haue tolde thee by and by 1135  
Of shepheard Cornix the wofull elegy,  
Wherin he mourned the greeuous payne and harde,  
And laste departing of the noble lorde Hawarde,  
More he indited of this good Admirall,  
But truely Codrus I can not tell thee all. 1140

*Codrus*

Minalcas I sweare by holy Peters cope,

---

Sylu. Candide per superos per olympica numina iuro

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

If all thing fortune as I haue trust and hope,  
If happy winde blowe I shall or it be longe  
Comfort thy sorowe and well rewarde thy songe,  
What tary man a while till better fortune come, 1145  
If my part be any then shall thy part be some.

*Minalcas*

If thou in purpose so to rewarde my hire,  
God graunt thee Codrus thy wishing and desire.

*Codrus*

Forsooth Minalcas I wishe thee so in dede,  
And that shalt thou knowe if fortune with me spede, 1150  
Farewell Minalcas, for this time, dieu te garde,  
Neare is winter the worlde is to harde.

*Minalcas*

Go wretched nigarde, God sende thee care and payne,  
Our Lorde let thee neuer come hither more agayne,  
And as did Midas, God turne it all to golde 1155  
That euer thou touchest or shalt in handes holde,  
For so muche on golde is fixed thy liking,  
That thou despisest both vertue and cunning.

**Thus endeth the fourth Egloge**

---

Me tibi (si uenti ueniant ad uela secundi)  
Laturum auxilium meliora in tempora uiue.  
Nec paulisper adhuc mecum sperare recusa.

Cand. Si mihi sic optas/tibi sit Syluane quod optas  
Sylu. Opto equidem: dictumque fides non sera se-  
quetur.

Cand. Vade malis auibus nunquam rediturus auare:  
Et facias subito quicquid tractaueris aurum  
More midæ: quando uirtus tibi uilior auro:

FINIS

The fyfth Egloge of Alexander Barclay, entituled<sup>r</sup>  
Amintas and Faustus, of the disputation of Citizens  
and men of the Countrey.

## The Argument

**I**N colde Ianuary when fire is comfortable,  
 And that the fieldes be nere intollerable,  
 When shepe and pastours leaueth fielde & folde,  
 And drawe to cotes for to eschue the colde,  
 What time the verdure of ground and euery tree, 5  
 By frost and stormes is priuate of beautee,  
 And euery small birde thinketh the winter longe,  
 Which well appeareth by ceasing of their songe.  
 At this same season two herdes freshe of age  
 At time appoynted met both in one cottage, 10  
 The first hight Faustus, the seconde Amintas,  
 Harde was to knowe which better husbande was,  
 For eche of them both set more by his pleasour  
 Then by aboundaunce of riches or treasour.  
 Amintas was formall and proper in his geare, 15  
 A man on his cloke should not espye<sup>2</sup> a heare,  
 Nor of his clothing one wrinkle stande<sup>3</sup> a wry,  
 In London he learned to go so manerly,  
 High on his bonet stacke a fayre brouche of tinne,<sup>4</sup>  
 His purses lining was simple, poore and thinne: 20  
 But a lordes stomake and a beggers pouche<sup>5</sup>  
 Full ill accordeth, suche was this comely slouch,<sup>6</sup>  
 In the towne and citie so longe ietted<sup>7</sup> had he  
 That from thence he fled for det and pouertie,  
 No wafrer, tauerne, alehouse or tauerner, 25  
 To him was there hid while he was hosteler,  
 First was he hosteler, and then a wafrer,  
 Then a costermonger, and last a tauerner,  
 About all London there was no proper prim<sup>8</sup>  
 But long time had bene familier with him, 30  
 But when coyne fayled no fauour more had he,

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Wherefore he was glad out of the towne to flee.  
But shepheard Faustus was yet more fortunate,  
For alway was he content with his estate,  
Yet nothing he had to comfort him in age, 35  
Saue a milch cowe and a poore cotage,  
The towne he vsed, and great pleasour he had<sup>1</sup>  
To see the citie oft time while he was lad.  
For milke and butter he thither brought to sell,  
But neuer thought he in citie for to dwell, 40  
For well he noted the mad enormitie,  
Enuy, fraude, malice and suche iniquitie  
Which reigne in cities, therefore he led his life  
Uplande<sup>2</sup> in village without debate and strife.  
When these two herdes were thus together met, 45  
Hauing no charges nor labour them to let,  
Their shepe were all sure and closed in a cote,  
Them selues<sup>3</sup> lay in litter pleasauntly and hote.  
For costly was fire in hardest of the yere,  
When men haue moste nede then euery thing is dere, 50  
For passing of time and recreation,  
They both delited in communication,  
Namely they pleaded of the diuersitie  
Of rurall husbandes and men of the citie.  
Faustus accused and blamed citizens, 55  
To them imputing great faultes, crime and sins:<sup>4</sup>  
Amintas blamed the rurall men agayne,  
And eche of them both his quarell did maynteyne,  
All wrath despised, all malice and ill will  
Cleane layde apart, eche did rehearse his skill, 60  
But first Amintas thus to speake began,  
As he which counted him selfe the better man.

*FINIS*

*Amintas first speaketh*

**T**He winter snowes, all couered is the ground,  
The north wind blowes sharpe<sup>5</sup> & with ferefull sound,



*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

The longe ise sicles at the ewes' hang, 65  
The streame is frosen,<sup>2</sup> the night is cold & long,  
Where botes towed nowe cartes haue passage,  
From yoke the oxen be losed and bondage  
The plowman resteth auoyde of businesse,  
Saue when he tendeth his harnes<sup>3</sup> for to dresse, 70  
Mably his wife sitteth before the fyre  
All blacke and smoky<sup>4</sup> clothed in rude attire,  
Sething some grewell, and sturring<sup>5</sup> the pulment<sup>6</sup>  
Of pease or frument,<sup>7</sup> a noble meat for lent,  
The summer season men counted nowe laudable 75  
Whose feruour before they thought intollerable,  
The frosty winter and wether temperate  
Which men then praysed they nowe dispraye and hate,  
Colde they desired, but nowe it is present  
They braule and grutche their mindes not content. 80  
Thus mutable men them pleased can not holde,  
At great heat grutching, and grutching when it is cold.

*Faustus*

All pleasour present of men is counted small,  
Desire obtayned some counteth nought at all,  
What men hope after that semeth great and deare, 85

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*Ægloga Sexta quæ dicitur Cornix de disceptatione Rusticorum & Ciuium Colloquutores Cornix & Fulica.*

Cornix. Ningit\* hyems/mugit boreas/a culmine pendet  
Stiria depositis bobus requiescit arator/  
Dormit humus: clauso pastor tunicatus ouili  
Cessat iners. sedet ante focum fumosa neæra/  
Atque polenta coquit. prius intolerabilis æstas  
Nunc laudatur. hyems æstu laudata molesto  
Dispicet. optatum damnat præsentia frigus

Fulica. Omne bonum presens minus est. sperata uidentur

\* Ingit

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

A[s] \* light by distaunce appeareth great and cleare,

*Amintas*

Eche time and season hath his delite and ioyes,  
 Loke in the stretes beholde the little boyes,  
 Howe in fruite season for ioy they sing and hop,  
 In lent is eche one full busy with his top, 90  
 And nowe in winter for all the greeuous colde  
 All rent and ragged a man may them beholde,  
 They haue great pleasour supposing well to dine,  
 When men be busied in killing of fat swine, D ij  
 They get the bladder and blowe it great and thin, 95  
 With many beanes or peason put within,<sup>1</sup>  
 It ratleth, soundeth, and shineth clere and fayre,  
 While it is throwen and caste vp in the ayre,  
 Eche one contendeth and hath a great delite  
 With foote and with hande the bladder for to smite, 100  
 If it fall to grounde they lifte it vp agayne,  
 This wise to labour they count it for no payne,  
 Renning and leaping they driue away the colde.  
 The sturdie plowmen lustie, strong and bolde  
 Ouercommeth the winter with driuing the foote ball,<sup>2</sup> 105  
 Forgetting labour and many a greuous fall.

*Faustus*

Men labour sorer in fruiteles vanitie  
 Then in fayre workes of great vtilitie,  
 In suche trifles<sup>3</sup> we labour for damage,

---

Magna uelut maius reddit distantia lumen  
 Cornix. Delitias habet omne suas/& gaudia tempus.  
 Aspice ut impexi tritaque in ueste ligati  
 Cæde suum pueri exultant. inflatur in utrem  
 Immissis uessica fabis/sonat & micat acta  
 Nunc pede/nunc cubito/stricto nunc obuia pugno.  
 Si cadit attollunt. cursu labor atque recursu  
 Brummam abigit. glaciale gelu pila rustica  
 uincit.

\* Cawood: 'At.'

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Worke we despise which bringeth aduantage. 110

*Amintas*

Touching their labour it can not me displease,  
While we be in rest and better here at ease  
In the warme litter, small payne hath little hire,  
Here may we walow while milke is on the fire,  
If it be crudded of bread we nede no crome, 115  
If thou bide Faustus thereof thou shalt haue some.

*Faustus*

Winter declareth harde nede and pouertie,  
Then men it feleth which haue necessitie,  
Truely Amintas I tell thee mine intent,  
We fonde yong people be muche improuident. 120  
We stray in summer without thought, care or hede,  
Of suche thinges as we in winter shall haue nede,  
As soone as we heare a bagpipe or a drone,<sup>1</sup>  
Then leaue we labour there is our money gone,  
But when the north winde with stormes violent 125  
Hath brought colde winter poore wretches to torment,  
And voyde of leaues is euery bough and tree,  
That one may clerely the empty nestes see,  
Then is all our woll and lambes gone and solde,  
We tremble naked and dye almost for colde, 130  
Our shoulders all bare, our hose and showes rent,  
By rechlesse youth thus all is gone and spent.  
This commeth for want<sup>2</sup> of good prouision,  
Youth dayneth counsell, scorning discretion,

---

Nos tamen hic melius tepido sub stramine foti  
Transigimus tempus dum lac cohit igne recoctum.  
Fulica. Pauperiem declarat hyems improuida certe  
Turba sumus iuuenes. securi æstate uagamur  
Immemores hyemis: nostrum æs tibicinis omne  
est.

Vt redivt e scythia boreas/nidosque uolucrum  
Fronribus ostendit nudata cadentibus arbor/  
Frigemus nudi scapulas/dorsum/ilia/plantas.

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

When pouertie thus hath caught vs in hir snare 135  
Then doth the winter our mad folly declare.  
Nowe truely Amintas I tell to thee<sup>1</sup> my mate,  
That towne dwellers liue greatly more fortunate,  
And somewhat wiser be they also then we,  
They gather treasour and riches in plentie, 140  
They spoyle the lambes and foxes of their skin  
To lap their wombes and fat sides therin,  
In lust, in pleasour, and good in aboundaunce  
Passe they their liues, we haue not suffisaunce.

*Amintas*

The men of the earth be fooles eche one,<sup>2</sup> 145  
We poore shepheardes be not to blame alone,  
More folly vexeth the men of the citie,  
I graunt vs ouersene, they madder be then we,  
Though I long season did in the citie dwell  
I fauour it not, troth dare I boldly tell, 150  
Though citzens be of liuing reprouable,  
Yet fortune to them is muche more fauourable,  
Fortune to them is like a mother dere,  
As a stepmother she doth to vs appeare,  
Them she exalteth to honour and riches, 155  
Us she oppresseth in care and wretchednesse,  
What is vayne fortune but thing vituperable,  
An vnhappy madnesse, vnworthy and vnstable.

*Faustus*

No doubt Amintas let me be fortunate,

---

Stultitiam declarat hyems. sapientibus urbes  
Congeriem nummum accumulunt. & ad ilia  
uulpes  
Melotasque trahunt/maculosaque tergora lyncis.  
Cornix. Desipiunt omnes/nec nos in crimine soli.  
Immo ipsos uexat grauior dementia ciues  
Verum illis mater/nobis fortuna nouerca  
Nos premit. infelix sors est dementia. fac sim  
Fortunatus/ero locuplex: ero primus in urbe.

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

And then shall I soone become a great estate, 160  
My coyne shall encrease, then shortly shall I be  
Called to office to gouerne a citie,  
All men shall heare me and geue to me credence,  
The commontie bare head shall do me reuerence,  
All other rulers, lowe men and commontie 165  
Shall gladly desire to haue aduise of me.  
If I be happy and fortune on me smile,  
Thus shall I ascende and mounte within a while,  
Aske thou of Cornix, declare to thee he can,  
Howe coyne more than cunning exalteth euery man. 170

*Amintas*

O Faustus Faustus, thou erres from the way,  
This is not fortune, full little do she may,  
Though I my selfe rehearsed but lately,  
That fortune hath might a man to magnifie,  
I kept the opinion of witlesse commontie, 175  
And grounded my selfe on none authoritie.  
It is not fortune which graunteth excellence,  
True honour is wonne by vertue and sapience,<sup>1</sup>  
If men get honour by worldly pollicy<sup>2</sup>  
It is no honour but wretched misery, 180  
God maketh mightie, God geueth true honour  
To godly persons of godly behauour.  
God first disposed and made diuersitie  
Betwene rude plowmen and men of the citie,  
And in what maner Cornix thine owne mate 185  
As we went talking recounted to me late.

---

Audiar. assurgent omnes. me uertice nudo  
Vulgus adorabit. me plæbs. me consulet omnis  
Turba: magistratus etiam/populusque patresque.

Fulica\* O cornix cornix non est fortuna/sed ipse/  
Quo sapiunt homines animus: fortuna potentem  
Non facit/immo deus: causam recitabit amyntas.

\* Fnlica

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

*Faustus*

What tolde thee Cornix, tell me I thee pray,  
He had good reason suche thinges to conuay,  
His wit was pregraunt, no reason did he want,  
But truth to declare his money was but scant. 190  
But what then? some man hath<sup>1</sup> plentie of cunning  
Which hath of riches small plentie or nothing.

*Amintas*

In hearing my tale if thou haue thy delite,  
Then take some labour, for nowe is good respite,  
Faustus arise thou out of this litter<sup>2</sup> hote, 195  
Go see and visite our wethers in the cote,  
Arise, go and come, thou art both yong and able,  
After great colde heate is more comfortable,  
Go man for shame, he is a slouthfull daw<sup>3</sup>  
Which leaueth profite for pleasour of hote strawe. 200

*Faustus*

Thinke not Amintas that Faustus hath disdayne,  
To do thy pleasour I shall refuse no payne,  
Loke here Amintas, Lorde benedicite,  
The colde snowe reacheth muche higher then my knee,  
Scant may the houses suche burthen well susteyne, 205  
Lesse hurte is tempest and sodayne storme of rayne,  
On toppe of the chimney there is a heape of snowe  
So hye extending our<sup>4</sup> steple is more lowe,  
The snowe is so white and the sunne so bright,  
That playnly Amintas amased is my sight. 210

---

Cornix. Est fortuna deus. sed quid recitarit amyntas  
Dic precor/in causis erat ingeniosus & acer.  
Ante tamen paulum pecus & præsepia uise.  
Vade/redi/calor est post frigora dulcior. ito.

Fulica. Attingit nix alta genu. uix tecta resistunt  
Tanto oneri. sublimis apex in uertice\* furni  
Pyramidem fecit metaque assurgit acuta.

\* ueetice

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

*Amintas*

Geue to the beastes good rowen<sup>1</sup> in plentie,  
And stoppe all the holes where thou canst faultes<sup>2</sup> see,  
Stop them with stubble, eft daube them with some clay  
And when thou hast done then come agayne thy way,  
Nought is more noysome to flocke, cotage nor folde, 215  
Then soden tempest and vnprovidid colde.  
What nowe already frende Faustus here agayne,  
By short conclusion bad worke apeareth playne,  
Thy comming agayne me thinke is all to soone  
Ought to have ended or<sup>3</sup> profite to haue done. 220

*Faustus*

This comberous wether made me more diligent,  
I ran all the way both as I came and went,  
And there I sped me and toke the greater payne,  
Because I lightly would be with thee agayne,  
After great colde it is full swete God wot 225  
To tumble in the strawe or in the litter hot.  
Nowe be we Faustus in hay vp to the chin,<sup>4</sup>  
Fulfill thy promise,<sup>5</sup> I pray thee nowe begin,  
Tell the beginning of the diuersitie  
Betwene rurall men and men of the citie, 230  
I knowe the reason and talking of Cornix,  
But since I him sawe be passed yeres sixe,  
His iocunde iestes made me ofte time full glad,  
Our first acquayntaunce was when I was a lad:

---

Cornix. Da pecori cordonum. stipulisque foramina claude/  
Si paries hiat: & rediens lætamine muni  
Limina. nulla gregi grauior quam frigora pestis.  
Iamne ades? oh quænam hæc solito properantia  
maior?

Fulica. Sollicitum me reddit hyems in frigore & igni.  
Maxima strenuitas: fœno recubare calenti/  
Abscondique cauo accubitu post frigora/dulce  
est.

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Nowe speake my Amintas,<sup>1</sup> and I shall holde me still 235  
Till thou haue ended and spoken all thy will.

*Amintas*

This great difference and first diuersitie  
Betwene rurall men and them of the citie,  
Began in this wise as Cornix to me tolde,  
Whiche well coulde common of many matters olde. 240  
First when the worlde was founded<sup>2</sup> and create,  
And Adam and<sup>3</sup> Eue were set in their estate,  
Our Lorde conioyned them both as man and wife,  
To liue in concorde the season of their life,  
And them commaunded mankinde to multiply, 245  
By generation to get them progeny,  
They both obeyed this swete commaundement  
With faythfull heartes and labour diligent,  
But would to Iesu, they had bene wise and ware  
From that fatall fruit which kindled all their care. 250  
But to my purpose: first Eue had children two,  
A sonne and a daughter, our Lorde disposed so,  
And so yere by yere two twins<sup>4</sup> she brought,  
When man assisteth God worketh not for nought,<sup>5</sup>  
By suche maner these two did them apply, 255

---

Cornix. Incipe: & enarra discrimina ruris & urbis.  
Fulica. Hoc igitur tantum ruris discrimen & urbis  
Taliter exortum noster recitabat Amyntas.  
Principio rerum primaque ab origine mundi  
Cum muliere marem sociali fœdere iungens  
Cœli opifex (sic nanque deum appellabat  
amyntas)  
Nomen adhuc teneo) natos producere iussit.  
Atque modum docuit fieri quo pignora possent.  
Accinxere operi. mandata fideliter implent.  
Sicque utinam de pomi esu seruata fuissent.  
Fœmina fit mater. puerum parit atque puellam.  
Atque puerperio simili fœcunda quotannis  
Auxit in immensum generis primordia nostri.



*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

The worlde to fulfill, encrease and multiply.  
At the laste our Lord at ende of fiftene yere  
To Eue our mother did on a time appeare,  
And in what maner nowe heare me Faustus:<sup>1</sup>  
Adam on the fiede foorth with his wethers was, 260  
His flocke then he fed without all dread and feare,  
Then were no wowers him nor his wife to deare,  
He was not troubled that time with ielousie,  
Then was no body to do that villany,  
No horned kiddes were liuing at that time, 265  
Long after this began this cursed crime,  
Then was no cucko betwene the east and west  
To lay wrong egges within a straunge nest,  
Then none suspected the liuing of his wife,  
Wedlocke was quiet and pleasaunt without strife. 270  
But after when people began to multiply  
Then fyrst was kindled the flame of ielousy,  
For that man committeth<sup>2</sup> sore dredeth he againe,  
Fraude feareth falshode, suspecting oft in vayne,  
A thefe suspecteth all men of felony, 275  
Breakers of wedlocke be full of ielousy,  
And therefore all suche as with the sworde do strike  
Feare to be serued with the scaberd like.  
Thus while that Adam was pitching of his<sup>3</sup> folde  
Eue was at home and sat on the thresholde, 280  
With all hir babes and children hir about,  
Eyther on hir lappe within or else without,  
Nowe had she pleasour them colling<sup>4</sup> and bassing,<sup>5</sup>  
And eft she was busy them lousing and keming,

---

Post tria lustra deus rediit. dum pignora pectit  
Fœmina prospiciens uenientem a limine uidit.  
Adam aberat securus oues pascebat. adulter  
Nullus adhuc suspectus erat. sed multiplicatis  
Connubiis fraudata fides. sine cornibus hirci  
Facti: & Zelotypo coniunx suspecta marito.  
Nam quæ quisque facit/fieri sibi furta ueretur.

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

And busy with butter for to annoynt their necke, 285  
Sometime she mused them pleasauntly to decke.  
In the meane time while she was occupied,  
Our Lorde drawing nere she sodenly espied,  
Anone she blushed, reuoluing in hir minde,  
That if our Lorde there should all those babes finde<sup>1</sup> 290  
So soone engendred, suppose<sup>2</sup> he nedes must  
That it was token of to great carnall lust,  
And all ashamed as fast as euer she might  
She hasted and hid some of them out of sight,  
Some vnder hay, some vnder strawe and chaffe, 295  
Some in the chimney, some in a tubbe of draffe,  
But suche as were fayre and of their stature right  
As wise and subtill reserued she in sight.  
Anone came our Lorde vnto the woman nere,  
And hir saluted with swete and smiling chere, 300  
And saide: O woman<sup>3</sup> let me thy children see,  
I come to promote eche after his degree.  
First was the woman amased nere for drede,  
At laste<sup>4</sup> she commaunded the eldest to procede,  
And gaue them comfort to haue audacitie, 305  
Though they were bolder and doubted lesse then she,  
God on them smiled, and them comforted so  
As we with whelpes and birdes vse to do,  
And then at the laste to the moste olde of all  
He saide: haue thou scepter of rowme<sup>5</sup> imperiall, 310

Erubuit mater/nimiaeque libidinis ingens  
Indicium rata tot natos/abscondere quosdam  
Accelerat. fœno sepelit/paleisque recondit.  
Iamque lares deus ingressus saluere penates  
Iussit. & huc dixit mulier tua pignora profer:  
Fœmina\* maiores natu procædere mandat.  
His deus arrisit: uelut arridere solemus  
Exiguus auium pullis/paruisue catellis.  
Et primo letatus ait cape regia sceptrum/

\* Fœmiua

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Thou art the eldest thou shalt haue most honour,  
Iustice requireth that thou be Emperour.  
Then to the seconde he saide: it is seming  
That thou be haunced to the honour of a king.  
And vnto the thirde he gaue suche dignitie, 315  
To gide an army a<sup>1</sup> noble duke to be,  
And saide: haue thou here harde yron and armour,  
Be thou in battayle a head and gouernour,  
And so foorth to other as they were in degree,  
Eche he promoted<sup>2</sup> to worthy dignitie. 320  
Some made he Earles, some lordes, some barons,  
Some squires, some knightes,<sup>3</sup> some hardy champions,  
And then brought he foorth the cepter and the crowne,  
The sworde, the pollax,<sup>4</sup> the helme and haberiowne,<sup>5</sup>  
The streamer, standard, the ghetton<sup>6</sup> and the mace, 325  
The speare and the shielde, nowe Eue had great solace,  
He gaue them armour, and taught them pollicy  
All thing to gouerne concerning chiuallry.  
Then made he iudges, maiors and gouernours,  
Marchauntes, shiriffes<sup>7</sup> and other protectours, 330  
Aldermen, burgesses and other in degree,  
After the custome of court and of citie.  
Thus all the children then being in presence,  
He set in honour and rowme of excellence,  
Oft time reuoluing and turning in his minde 335  
The caduke<sup>8</sup> honours belonging to mankinde.  
In the meane season Eue<sup>9</sup> very ioyfull was  
That all these matters were brought so well to passe,  
Then flewe<sup>10</sup> she in haste for to haue pleasour more,

---

Rex eris. at ferrum & belli dedit arma secundo:  
Et dux inquit eris. fascēs populique secures  
Protulit/& uites. & pila insignia Romæ.  
Iamque magistratus celebres partitus in omnem  
Progeniem/humanos tacitus uolebat honores.  
Interea mater rebus gauisa secundis  
Euolat ad caulas/& quos absconderat/ultro

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

And them presented whom she had hid before, 340  
And vnrequired presenting them saide she,  
O Lorde these also my very children be,  
These be the fruite also of my wome,  
Hid for shamefastnesse within my house at home,  
O Lorde most mightie, hye father, creatour,<sup>1</sup> 345  
Withsaue to graunt them some office of honour,  
Their heere was rugged poudred all with chaffe,  
Some full of strawes, some other full of draffe,  
Some with cobwebbes and dust were so arayde  
That one beholding on them might be afrayde, D iij 350  
Blacke was their colour and bad was their figure,  
Uncomely to sight, mishapen of stature,  
Our Lorde not smiled on them to shewe pleasaunce,  
But saide to them thus with troubled countenaunce:  
Ye smell all smoky, of stubble and of chaffe, 355  
Ye smell of the grounde, of wedes and of draffe,  
And after your sent and tedious sauour.  
Shall be your rowmes and all your behauour,  
None can a pitcher turne to a siluer pece,<sup>2</sup>  
Nor make goodly silke of a gotes flece, 360  
And harde is also to make withouten fayle  
A bright two hande sworde of a coves tayle.  
No more will I make, howbeit that I can,  
Of a vile villayne a noble gentleman,  
Ye shall be plowmen and tillers of the grounde, 365  
To payne and labour shall ye alway be bounde,  
Some shall kepe oxen, and some shall hogges kepe,  
Some shall be threshers, some other shall kepe shepe,

Protulit/hæc/dicens nostri quoque pignora uen-  
tris:

Hos aliquo Pater omnipotens dignabere dono.  
Settosum albebat paleis caput. hæserat armis  
Stramen/& antiquis quæ pendet aranea tectis.  
Non arrisit eis/sed tristi turbidus ore  
Vos fœnum/terram/& stipulas deus inquit oletis.

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

To digge and to delue, to hedge and to dike,  
Take this for your lot and other labour like, 370  
To drudge and to driuell<sup>1</sup> in workes vile and rude,  
This wise shall ye liue in endlesse seruitude,  
Reaping<sup>2</sup> and mowing of fodder, grasse and corne,  
Yet shall towne dwellers oft laugh you vnto scorne.<sup>3</sup>  
Yet some shall we graunt to dwell in the citie, 375  
For to make puddinges and<sup>4</sup> butchers for to be,  
Coblers or tinkers or els costarde iaggers,<sup>5</sup>  
Hostelers or daubers, or droupy water lagers,<sup>6</sup>  
And suche other sorte whose dayly businesse,  
Passeth in workes and labour of vilenesse, 380  
To stoupe and to sweate, and subiect to become;  
And neuer to be ridde from bondage and thraldome.  
Then brought our Lorde to them the carte and harowe,  
The gad & the whip, the mattoke & the whelebarowe,  
The spade, the shouell, the forke and the plough, 385  
And all suche tooles, then bad he them be tough,  
And neuer to grutche at labour nor at payne,  
For if they so did it should be thing in wayne.  
Thus saide the father and Lorde omnipotent,  
And then he ascended vp to the firmament, 390  
Thus began honour and thus began bondage,  
And diuersitie of citie and village,  
And seruile labour first in the worlde<sup>7</sup> began,  
Demaunde of Cornix, declare the truth he can,

---

Vester erit stimulus/uester ligo/pastina uestra.  
Vester erit uomer/iuga uestra/agrestia uestra  
Omnia: aratores eritis: pecorumque magistri.  
Fœnisecæ/solifossores/nautæ atque bubulci.  
Sed tamen ex uobis quosdam donabimus urbe/  
Qui sint fartores/lanii/lixæ/artocopique  
Et genus hoc alii/soliti sordescere semper.  
Sudate/& toto seruite prioribus æuo.  
Taliter omnipotens fatus repetiuit olympum.  
Sic factum est seruile genus. sic ruris & urbis

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

This tolde me Cornix which wonned<sup>1</sup> in the fen, 395  
I trust his saying before a thousande men,

*Faustus*

Is this the matter praysed of thee so sore?  
A strawe for fables I set by them no store,  
It were a maruell if Cornix matter tolde  
To laude of shepheardes, or plowmen to vpholde, 400  
He dwelled<sup>2</sup> in the towne and helde with the citie,  
Till nede him moued as it hath driuen thee.

When none of you both dare to the towne resorte  
Among vs shepheardes yet finde ye here comfort,  
So both thou and he be greatly for to blame, 405  
To eate ou[r]<sup>\*3</sup> vitayle and then to hurt our name.

The yong<sup>4</sup> men of townes to mocke vs haue a gise,  
Naught else can they do saue lies to deuise,  
This vayne inuention and foolishe fayned fable  
Agaynst<sup>5</sup> rurall men they haue delite to bable, 410  
And nought they ashame as blinde wretches vnwise,  
Of God almightie suche leasinges to deuise,

This scoruy scoffing<sup>6</sup> declareth openly  
Agaynst rurall men rebuke and iniury,  
But thou art so rude thy paunch is so fatte, 415  
Agaynst thine owne selfe thou busy art to chatte,

All if<sup>7</sup> this same iest is thy rebuke and blame,  
Thy dulled reason can not perceyue the same.

+ But I shall<sup>8</sup> proue thee that rurall people be

Inductum discrimen ait mantous Amyntas.  
Cornix. Mirabar/si quid recti dixisset Amyntas.  
Cuius erat. semper nobis urbana iuuentus  
Cui nihil est preter stulta hæc commenta/negoci/  
Ludit: in agrestes semper iaculantur: & urbis  
Talia garrulitas/& uaniloquentia fingit.  
At neque de superis pudet has componere nugas  
Iste iocus manifesta gerit conuicia secum.  
Sed tu tam rudis es/tam pleno inflatus omaso/  
Vt neque perpendas isto te scommate carpi.

\* Cawood: 'out.'

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

More wise and noble then they of the cite,  
And that the cite is full of fraude and strife,  
When we in village haue good and quiet life. 420

*Amyntas*

I pray thee Faustus herefore be thou not wroth,  
To haue displeasour of thee I were right loth,  
I thought no mauger, I tolde it for a bourde, 425  
If I had knowen I would<sup>1</sup> haue said no worde:  
But say thy pleasour, nowe tell foorth thy sentence,  
And I shall heare thee with sober pacience.

*Faustus*

I shall not deny our payne and seruitude,  
I knowe that plowmen for the most part be rude, 430  
Nowe shall I tell thee high matters true and olde,  
Which curteous Candidus vnto me once tolde,  
Nought shall I forge nor of no leasing bable,  
This is true history and no surmised fable.

→ At the beginning of thinges first of all,<sup>2</sup> 435

God made shepheardes and other men rurall,  
→ But the first plowman and tiller of the grounde  
Was rude and sturdie, disdayning to be bounde,  
Rough and stubborne, and Cayn men did him call,  
He had of mercy<sup>3</sup> and pitie none at all, 440

But like as the grounde is dull, stony and tough,  
Stubborne and heauy, rebelling to the plough.  
So the first plowman was strong and obstinate,  
→ Frowarde, selfewilled,<sup>4</sup> and mouer of debate;  
But the first shepheard was meke and nothing fell, 445  
Humble as<sup>5</sup> a lambe, and called was Abell.

A shepe geueth milke and little hath of gall,  
So this good Abell had none ill will at all.  
No shepheard founde him iniurious nor wrong  
Induring his life while he was them among, 450  
And ofte of his flocke made he good sacrifice,  
Of calfe or lambes, suche as were moste of price,  
And of fat wethers the best not spared he,  
→ To honour our Lorde and please his deitee.

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Thus had he fauour with God omnipotent, 455  
So pleasing our Lorde, that to this time present  
From first beginning of earth and man mortall,  
God hath had fauour to people pastorall,  
And poore shepheardes, their cotes folde<sup>1</sup> and shepe, 460  
Angels haue come for to defende and kepe,  
Some shepheardes were in lande of Asserye,  
Which after haue bene promoted very hye,  
So that from cotes and houses pastorall  
They haue assended to dignitie royall,  
Charges and labour so doth my reason blinde, 465  
That call their names can I not vnto minde,  
Yet let me studie auoyding perturbauce,  
So may I call them vnto<sup>2</sup> remembraunce.  
Lo nowe I haue them, Abraham, Iacob,  
Loth, Isaac, yong Ioseph and Iob, 470  
These nowe rehearsed and all the patriarkes  
Haue not disdayned poore shepe nor heardes workes,  
Them hath our Lorde called from humble thinges,  
And made them princes, dukes or els<sup>3</sup> kinges,  
So haue they chaunged their clothing pastorall, 475  
With golden garment, purpure and gay pall,  
And then haue after by magnanimitie  
Brought noble realmes<sup>4</sup> in their captiuitie,  
And haue in battayle bene mightie conquerours,  
Won fame immortall and excellent honours. 480  
Paris was pastour the sonne of Priamus,  
Pan, Silene, Orpheus, and ioly Tyterus,  
Saul was shepheard, so was he in like wise  
Which would haue offred his sonne in sacrifice,  
Moyses was shepheard and was his flocke keping, 485  
When he came bare foote vnto the bushe flaming,  
Commaunded by God to leaue his flocke and go  
On Gods message to sturdy Pharao.  
Also Apollo was herde sometime in Grece,  
Nothing disdayning to handle Ewe and flece: 490  
As write<sup>5</sup> Poetes, he left diuine honour,



*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Glad among wethers to be a gouernour.  
The blessed angels brought to such men as we  
Message of concorde, of peace and vnitie,  
And song that Gloria, flying in the skye, 495  
Which our syr Sampson doth sing so meryly.  
First had shepherdes sure tiding by message  
That God was made man to bye humane<sup>1</sup> linage,  
And herdes instruct by voyce angelicall  
Sawe God incarnate and borne first of all. 500  
And this was pleasure of Gods Maiestie  
That simple herdes him first of all should see,  
And in their maner make vnto him offringes  
Before estates, as riche and mightie kinges.  
The ioly Harper, which after was a kinge, 505  
And slewe the giant so stoutly with his sling  
Was first a shepherde or he had dignitie,  
Right so were many, as stoute and bolde as he:  
And our Lorde Iesu, our God and Sauour  
Named himsele a shepherde or pastour. 510  
Right so he named men meeke and pacient  
His flocke and his shepe for maners innocent:  
Thinke not these wordes glosed nor<sup>2</sup> in vayne,  
They are the Gospell, so saith syr Peter playne.  
I sawe them my selfe well paynted on the wall, 515  
Late gasing vpon our Church Cathedrall:  
I sawe great wethers in picture and small lambes,  
Daunsing, some sleeping, some sucking of their dams,  
And some on the grounde me semed lying still,  
Then sawe I horsemen at pendant of an hill, 520  
And the three kinges with all their company,  
Their crownes glistering<sup>3</sup> bright and oriently,  
With their presentes and giftes mysticall,  
All this behelde I in picture on the wall.  
But the poore pastours as people innocent 525  
First sawe the Crib of our Lorde omnipotent.  
Thus it appereth God loueth poore pastours,  
Sith he them graunted to haue so<sup>4</sup> great honours.

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Our Lorde hath fauour both to<sup>1</sup> shepe and folde,  
 As it appereth by these historyes<sup>2</sup> olde. 530  
 Our Lorde is ready to succour the village,  
 Despising townes for malice and outrage.  
 For God is content with simple pouertie,  
 Pride he despiseth and wrongfull dignitie.

*Amintas*

In good fayth Faustus, thy tale is veritable,<sup>3</sup> 535  
 Grounded on learning, and greatly commendable:  
 Lately my selfe to see that picture was,  
 I sawe the maunger, I sawe the ox and asse.  
 I well remember<sup>4</sup> the people in my minde,  
 Me thinke yet I see the blacke faces of Inde: 540  
 Me thinke yet I see the herdes and the kinges,  
 And in what maner were ordred their offeringes.  
 As long as I liue the better shall I loue  
 The name of herdes, and citezins reproue.  
 Wherefore mate Faustus, I pray God geue thee care, 545  
 If thou the faultes of any citie spare.  
 Speake on and spare not, and touche their errour,  
 Yet may we<sup>5</sup> common more then a large houre.

*Faustus*

Then turne we to talke a while of citizens,  
 To touche their foly and parcell of their sinnes, 550  
 Thinke not Amintas that they of the citie  
 Liue better life or wiselyer then we.  
 All if their cloathing<sup>6</sup> be doubled for the colde,  
 And though they glister so gayly in bright golde,  
 Shining in silkes, in purpore or veluet, 555  
 In furred robes, or clokes of scarlet,  
 And we poore herdes in russet cloke and hood:

Nos quoque paulisper mentem extendamus ad  
 urbis

Stultitiam\*/ne forte putes sapientius illos  
 Viuere/qui splendent auro/qui murice fulgent.

\* Stultiam

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

It is not clothing can make a man be good.  
 Better is in ragges pure liuing innocent  
 Then a soule defiled in sumptuous garment. 560  
 Trust me Amintas, my selfe with these same eyne  
 Haue in the citie such often times seene  
 Iet in their silkes, and brag in the market,  
 As they were lordes I oft haue seene them iet,  
 Which are starke beggers, and liue in neede at home, 565  
 And oft go to bed for neede with empty wombe.  
 Nought is more foolish then such wretches be,  
 Thus with proude port to cloke their pouertie.  
 What is neede cloked or fayned aboundaunce,  
 Pouertie, slouth, and wretched gouernaunce? 570  
 What is fayre semblaunce with thought and heaunyes?  
 Forsooth nought els but cloked foolishnes.  
 And some haue I seene (which is a thing damnable)  
 That while they would haue a liuing delectable,  
 Rest at their pleasure, and fare deliciously, 575  
 Haue suffred their wiues defiled wetingly,  
 Haue solde their daughters flowre of virginitie,  
 O dede vnworthy, O blinde iniquitie:  
 Fame, honour, the soule, and chastitie be solde  
 For wretched liuing, O cursed thirst of golde. 580  
 O damnable deede, so many for to spill,  
 One wretched carkasse and belly for to fill?

- 
- > His oculis uidi tunicis plerosque superbis  
 Vestiri/atque foro regali incedere gressu  
 Quos secreta fames premit/atque domesticā ege-  
 stas.  
 Stultius his certe nihil est/opulentia ficta  
 Paupertas & segnities/& inertia uitæ  
 Vera/quid est aliud quam desipientia uera?  
 Vidi etiam patres (o rem indignam atque nefan-  
 dam)  
 Dum segnes dormire uolunt/& uiuere laute/  
 Prostituisse suas uulgo cum coniuge natas.

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

What thing is viler? what more abhominable?  
What thing more foolish, more false and detestable?

*Amintas*

What if they can not to other craft them geue? 585  
Nor finde other way or meanes for to liue?  
Nede hath no lawe, of two euils' perdie  
To chose the least ill is none iniquitie,

*Faustus*

Sith they haue as many soules as haue we,  
As much of reason, and handes like plentie, 590  
Why may they not to honest work them geue;  
And finde other way and maner for to liue.  
No lawe permitteth nor willeth man perdie  
To commit murther for harde necessitie,  
No more should any his soule defile or kill 595  
For lust transitory, or pleasure to fulfill.  
Yet be in cities mo suing foolishnes,  
Wening by craft for to haue great riches:  
By which craftes no man hath riches founde,  
Sith time that our Lord first fourmed man & ground: 600  
As Alkemistes wening by pollicy  
Nature to alter, and coyne to multiply.  
Some wash rude metall with licours manifolde  
Of herbes, wening to turne it into golde.  
All pale and smoky be such continuall, 605  
And after labour they lose their life and all:

---

Quid peius? quid perfidius? quid stultius un-  
quam?

Fulica. Quid si uitam alio nequeunt traducere pacto?  
Cornix. Cum totidem quot nos habeant animasque/  
manusque/

Dic cur uitam alio nequeant traducere pacto.  
Est etiam cuius uecors industria uanas  
Quærat opes/ubi nullus opes inuenit ab æuo.  
Æs lauat herbarum succis/& uertere in aurum  
Æstimat: ac nigra semper fulligine pallet.

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Another sorte is to this not much vnlike,  
 Which spende their times in wretched art magike,  
 Thereby supposing some treasure to haue founde,  
 Which many yeres is hid within the grounde. 610  
 What is more foolish, more full of vanitie,  
 Or more repugning to fayth and probitie,  
 Because they would flye good busynes and payne,  
 They vse such trifles and wretched thinges vayne.  
 They proue all thinges because they would<sup>1</sup> do nought, 615  
 Still seeking newes, still troubled in their thought:  
 Because they woulde flee the labour of the lande,  
 All ydle trifles such taketh on their hande: D jv  
 Still be they busy, and neuer come to ende,  
 To thing profitable do fewe of them intende. 620  
 Some liue by rapine, gile, fraude and pollicy,  
 Penury,<sup>2</sup> oppression, and some on<sup>3</sup> vsury.  
 Some gladly borowe, and neuer pay agayne,  
 Some keepe from seruauntes the stipend of their payne:  
 Some rest men giltlesse, and cast them in prison, 625  
 Some bye stronge thieues out of the dungeon.  
 Some faune, some flatter, man trust not when they smile,  
 Then frame they<sup>4</sup> fraudes men slyly to begile.  
 Some in one houre more promise to thee will,  
 Then all his dayes he thinketh to fulfill: 630  
 By thousande meanes of fraude and craftynes  
 Lye they in wayte for honour and riches.

---

Est qui dum tellure latens desyderat aurum  
 Dat magicis operam studiis: & tempora perdit.  
 Quid leuius? quid futilius? quid inanius *unquam*?  
 Omnia ne ueniant ad opus telluris & agri/  
 Omnia pertentant/ut agant nihil/omnia uersant.  
 Semper agunt. *nunquam* peragunt. ex fœnore  
 uictum  
 Infamem extorquent / ui / fraude / dolisque / la-  
 borant.  
 Mille uiis opibus mille insidiantur honori.

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

They feede the riche, and often let the poore  
Dye for pure colde and hunger at their doore.  
We feed fat oxen, they marmosets keepe, 635  
We feede fat kiddes, lambes and good sheepe:  
And they feede hawkes, apes, horse and houndes,<sup>1</sup>  
And small is their ioy saue here within our boundes.  
We bring them butter, egges, cheese and wooll,  
Tankerdes of milke and creame fleeting full: 640  
All maner fleshe, and all their whole liuing,  
Without our labour truely they haue nothing.  
We are the feeders of wethers and fat hogges,  
And they of the Citie feede birdes and great dogges.  
Nowe iudge Amintas, which of these seemeth thee 645  
Of moste aduauntage and moste nobilitie.

*Amintas*

If by our<sup>2</sup> labour proceedeth more riches,  
And moste aduauntage, as seemeth truth doubtles,  
Then this I meruayle that they of the Citie  
Haue so great plentie, and we necessitie: 650  
The cause can not I call to my remembraunce,  
Wherof proceedeth their store and aboundaunce.

*Faustus*

The cause I tolde thee, what wouldest thou haue more,  
By fraude and falshood haue they so mikle store.  
Seest thou not playnly howe they of the Citie 655  
Dayly deceyue<sup>3</sup> our poore simplicitie.

Nos capras & oues/armentaque pascimus/illi  
Accipitres/catulos/& equos/& cercopythecos.  
Rusticus est ouium pastor/uolucrumque canum-  
que  
Ciuis. utrum melius te iudice/nobiliusque  
O fulica. utilitas unde atque opulentia maior?  
Fulica. Si uenit ex nostris operis opulentia maior/  
Ciuibus unde igitur tantarum copia rerum?  
Cornix. Ex ui/fraude/dolis/ui/fraude/dolisque laborant.  
Nonne uides insane ut nos crudeliter urgent?

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

[ With what<sup>1</sup> crueltie against vs they rage,  
 By false oppression or fayre fayned language.  
 They thinke it pleasure that sorowe on them hap,  
 By glosed wordes to take vs in a trap:<sup>2</sup> 660  
 The moste of them all count it an almes deede  
 Us hearde to fraude, this is a gentle meede:  
 For them we labour in heate, colde, winde, and rayne,<sup>3</sup>  
 And fraude and disceyte they pay vs for our payne.  
 With mindes and tonge they study and they muse 665  
 Both day and night vs hearde to abuse:  
 Their wit and body all whole do they apply,<sup>4</sup>  
 For vs poore wretches to study pollicie:  
 And after their fraude, gile and deception,  
 Then do they laugh vs vnto derision. 670

*Amintas*

Howe came thou to knowledge of this enormitie,  
 And of these maners of them of the Citie:  
 My selfe there wonned, and there was conuersant,  
 Of some of these thinges yet am I ignorant.

*Faustus*

Thou could not perceyue well their enormitie, 675  
 Perchaunce thy maners did with their life agree:  
 There seldome is seene great contradiction,  
 Where men accordeth in disposition.  
 No fault with Moriens is blacke difformitie,  
 Because all the sort like of that<sup>5</sup> fauour be. 680  
 So could thou not see their vices nor them blame,  
 Because thine owne life was filed with the same.  
 But howe I knewe them nowe shall I tell to thee,  
 While I brought butter to sell to the Citie,

---

Quo capiunt astu: nos irretire loquendo  
 Sacrum offerre putant/& opus sublime/piumque  
 Huc aures/oculosque adigunt: huc ora manus-  
 que.

Fulica. Vnde urbanarum tibi tanta peritia rerum?  
 Cornix. Hæc didici. quondam ductis in mœnia capris

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

And other vitayle, I vsed milke to crye, 685  
 Then had I knowledge with an appotecary:  
 Of him I learned much falshood and practise  
 Not to the purpose the same to exercise:  
 - He could make plasters and newe commixtions,  
 In valour scant worth a couple of onions, 690  
 Yet solde he the same as it were golde so dere,  
 Namely if happened any infectife yere.  
 I was acquainted with many an hucster,  
 With a costardmonger<sup>1</sup> and with an hostler.  
 This thiefe was crafty poore people to begile, 695  
 None like I suppose within a dosen mile:  
 Among all his other fraudes and his crimes  
 He solde one bottell of hey a dosen times.  
 And in the Otes could he well drop a candle,  
 Well knewe he howe his gestes for to handle. 700  
 And in the same Inne there dwelled a prety prim,  
 She could well flatter and glose<sup>2</sup> with him and him.  
 And necke a measure, her smirking gat<sup>3</sup> her sale,  
 She made ten shillinges of one barell of ale.  
 Whom she begiled in pottes, she was fayne 705  
 To win them with fresh<sup>4</sup> and paynted looke agayne.  
 And as I remember, her name was wanton Besse,  
 Who least with her dealt he thriued not the lesse.  
 What needeth<sup>5</sup> more processe, no craft of the Citie  
 Is, but is mingled with fraude and subiltie: 710  
 Saue onely the craft of an Apoticary,  
 That is all fraude and gilefull pollicy,  
 But all these would sweare that they were innocent,  
 Or they to the Citie did first of all frequent.

---

Cum lac uociferans ibam uenale per urbem.  
 Mansi apud artocopum. sapiens/& ad omnia  
 promptus  
 Furta erat/& crudum ferro subradere panem.  
 Ipse ut erat mores urbis doctissimus/ista  
 Traddidit affirmans nihil esse nocentius urbe.



*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

There learned they theft and fraude to exercise, 715  
And man of nature is moued soone to vice.  
Some be also which spend their patrimony  
Which was to them lefte<sup>1</sup> by their olde auncestry  
On queanes, baudes, in riot and dronkennes,  
Their name defiling, despising all goodnes. 720  
With cost and paynes such busyly labour,  
Seeking for shame and death before their houre.  
Say where is custome of fornication,  
Incest, aduoutry and defloration,  
Forcing of women, murther and rapine, 725  
Discorde and brauling and liuing like to swine:  
Malice, enuy, and all iniquitie  
Do these not reygne in middes of the Citie?  
All newe abusion prouoking men to sins  
Had first beginning among the Citezens. 730  
Where dwell great princes and mightie gouernours,  
Their life despising for to haue vayne honours,  
Capitaynes, souldiers, and all like company,  
Which put for money their life in ieopardie.  
These dwell not vplande,<sup>2</sup> but haunt<sup>3</sup> the Citie, 735  
Poore herdes fight not but for necessitie,  
For libertie, life, and Iustice to vpholde,  
Towne dwellers fight for vayne honour and golde.  
We fight our frendes and housholde to defende,  
They fight for malice to riches to ascende. 740

---

Se quoque furari didicisse aiebat ab urbe.  
Sunt etiam qui parta ab auis patrimonia fundunt  
In meretricum usus. Quid foedius? improbius-  
que?

Dic ubi mechandi ars/homicidia/seditiones?  
Nonne inter ciues/atque intra mœnia regnant?  
Quid reges qui regna hominum per uulnera  
gerunt

In mortemque suos adigunt? Quid pectora miles  
Obiiciens telis/per mille pericula uadens?

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Our cause and quarell is to maynteyne the right,  
But all on selfe will without reason they fight.  
They seeke by woundes for honour and riches,  
And driue the weakest to hardest busynes.  
O blinde souldier, why settest thou thy hart 745  
For a vayne stipende against a mortall dart.  
By thousand perils thou takest thy passage,  
For small lucre renning to great damage.<sup>1</sup>  
Their sweete life they geue for a poore stipende,  
And oft lese they both, and heauen at the ende. 750  
While some contendeth and fighteth for his wage,  
His life he spendeth, then farewell aduauntage.  
What is more foolish or liker to madnes,  
Then to spende the life for glory and riches?  
What thing is glory, laude, praying or fame, 755  
What honour, reporte, or what is noble name?  
Forsooth nought but voyce of witlesse commontie,  
And vayne opinion subiect to vanitie.  
Processe of yeres, reuoluing of reason  
Bringeth all these soone in obliuion. 760  
When life is faded all these be out of sight,  
Like as with the Sun departeth the day light,  
They all be fooles which meddle<sup>2</sup> with the sea,  
And otherwise might liue in their owne country.  
He is but a foole which runneth to tempest, 765  
And might liue on lande in suertie and in rest.  
He is but a foole which hath of good plentie,

Pro stipe dat uitam/nulla est insania maior.  
Gloria præfertur uitæ. Quid gloria? Quid laus?  
Quid fama est? quid honor? uoces & opinio  
uulgi.

Omnia longa dies abolet/cum uiuere cessas/  
Omnia sic abeunt/ut lux cum sole recedit.  
Qui mare sollicitant remis/cum uiuere possint  
In patria/stulti. uento qui credit & undis/  
Stultus. diuitiæ cui sunt/& negligit uti/

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

And it disdayneth to vse and occupy.  
And he which liueth in care and wretchednes  
His heyre to promote to landes and riches 770  
Is moste foole of all, to spare in misery,  
With goodes<sup>1</sup> and landes his heyre to magnifye.  
And he which leaueth that thing for to be done  
Unto his daughter, executour or sonne,  
Which he him self might in his life fulfill, 775  
He is but a foole, and hath but litle skill.  
But all these sortes within the citie be,  
They want of wisdom and sue enormitie.  
And also the youth in dayes festiuall  
Do nought but folowe their lustes bestiall. 780  
The weeke they vse them in worldly busynes,  
The Sunday serueth to folowe viciousnes.  
What time the shoppes be closed all and shit,  
Then is the market with Thais, beale and kit,  
On hiest dayes such ware is namely solde, 785  
For nought it waxeth, if it be once olde.  
Upon the Sondag when man should God honour,  
Left is good labour, ensued is error.  
Oft time<sup>2</sup> the olde freer that wonned in Grenewitch  
Against such folyes was boldly wont to preache: 790  
He saide: where baudes and their abusyon  
Were wont to abide in one vile place alone,  
Nowe are they sprinkled and sparkled abroad,  
Like wise as shippes be docked in a rode,  
That harde is to knowe good women from the ill, 795  
By ill example good are in doubt to spill.  
Baudes be suffered so where them<sup>3</sup> lust to bide,  
That the strete fadeth vpon the water side.<sup>4</sup>  
Cate, Gill, Mably, Phillis and feate Ieny,  
Because of the citie nowe can not get one peny. 800

Stultus. qui ut natis cumulet patrimonia/partis  
Abstinet/& genium fraudat/stultissimus/& qui  
Quæ facere ipse potest/natis faciunda relinquit.

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Uile Thais was wont in angles<sup>1</sup> for to be,  
Nowe hath she power in all the whole citie.

*Amintas*

Thou passest measure (Faustus) by God a[v]owe,<sup>\*2</sup>  
Thou sayest of malice right well perceyue I now:  
Mitigate thy minde<sup>3</sup> and tonge, for it is shame 805  
Men of the citie thus largely to blame.  
What man is faultlesse, remember the village,  
Howe men vplondish on holy dayes rage.  
Nought can them tame, they be a beastly sort,  
In sweate and labour hauing moste chiefe comfort. 810  
On the holy day assoone as morne is past,  
When all men resteth while all the day doth last,  
They drinke, they banket, they reuell and they iest,  
They leape, they daunce, despising ease and rest.  
If they once heare a bagpipe or a drone, 815  
Anone to the elme or Oke they be gone.  
There vse they to daunce, to gambolde and to rage,  
Such is the custome and vse of the village.  
When the ground resteth from rake, plough and wheles  
Then moste they it trouble with burthen of their heles. 820  
To Bacchus they banket, no feast is festiuall,  
They chide and they chat, they vary and they brall,  
They rayle and they route, they reuell and they crye,  
Laughing and leaping, and making cuppes drye.

*Faustus*

What, stint thou thy chat, these wordes I defye, 825  
It is to a vilayne rebuke and vilany.  
Such rurall solace so plainly for to blame,  
Thy wordes sound to thy rebuke and shame.

*Amintas*

Not so frend Faustus, I spake it but in game,  
Agayne to the Citie returne in Gods name. 830

*Faustus*

Yet of the citie mo fooles tell can I,

<sup>\*</sup>Cawood: 'anowe'

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Which wene to number the sterres in<sup>t</sup> the sky,  
By them supposing eche desteny to tell,  
But all be fooles that with this matter mell.  
Yet be they madder which fixe their intent 835  
To searche the nature of God omnipotent:  
And dare be so bolde to set their mortall sight  
On incomprehensible and pure immortall light.  
Our fayth is better, for they of the citie  
Beleue by reason with great difficultie: 840  
Or they will beleue, they braule with argument,  
Playne speeche suffiseth vs people innocent.  
Against Sir Sampson their quarell they defende,  
We aske no question, and vse not to contende.  
We light the aultars, and many candels offer, 845  
When they of the towne scantly make a proffer:  
Their fayth is feble, our fayth is sure and stable,  
They dare be bolde with doctours for to bable:  
A worldly merchaunt nought knowing of doctrine,  
Because of his coyne counteth his reason fine. 850  
Trust me Amintas, no force who heareth me,  
The coyne and cunning doth not alway agree:  
For some be that haue plentie<sup>2</sup> of that one,  
Which of that other haue litle part or none.  
What should the fooles that dwell in the citie, 855  
Or we seeke to knowe of Gods priuitie.  
If it were nedefull the Godhead for to knowe  
To simple wretches here on the grounde alowe:

---

Qui numerant stellas/& se comprehendere fata  
Posse putant/stulti. Verum dementior istis  
Naturam quicunque dei scrutatur: & audet/  
Figere in immensam lumen tam debile lucem.  
Nostra fides melior. ciuis ratione coactus  
Difficile assentit. nudis nos omnia uerbis  
Credimus. & plures faculas accendimus aris.  
Ciuibus est infida fides. inquirere nunquam  
Mente sinunt arcana dei si numina scire

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

It is in the power of God omnipotent  
 His very presence to vs to represent. 860  
 But sith his knowledge is incomprehensible,<sup>1</sup>  
 Why seek fooles for thinges impossible?  
 And sith God will be vnknownen vnto us,  
 Why should thing<sup>2</sup> mortall of endlesse thing discusse?  
 And rurall<sup>3</sup> people in almes do excell 865  
 Aboue all the sort which in the citie dwell.  
 We geue wooll and cheese, our wiues coyne and egges  
 When freers flatter and prayse<sup>4</sup> their proper legges.<sup>5</sup>  
 For a score of pinnes, and needles two or three<sup>6</sup>  
 A gentle cluner<sup>7</sup> two cheeses had of me. 870  
 Phillis gaue coyne because he did her charme,  
 Euer sith that time lesse hath she felt of harme.  
 Yet is in the citie a number incurable,  
 Pleadere and brokers a foule and shamefull<sup>8</sup> rable,  
 Merchauntes of Iustice, hunters of riches, 875  
 Cratchers of coyne, delayers of processe,  
 Prolonging causes, and making wrong of right,  
 And right of playn wrong, oppressing law with might,  
 Iayers of Iustice, their cursed couetice  
 Watreth the plantes of crueltie and vice. D v 880

---

Esset opus: poterant nobis se ostendere. uerum  
 Quando latere uolunt/quid uestigare necesse est.  
 Quæ nos scire negant ipsi qui cuncta gubernant?  
 Nostra etiam pietas pietate potentior urbis/  
 Nanque uiri qui sacra canunt templisque minis-  
 trant  
 Quanta legunt ruri paucis alimenta diebus?  
 Vidi ego qæsitæ ex rure in mœnia plenis  
 Pupibus inferri pietas ea rustica fruges.  
 Stultorum est aliud genus immedicabile quoddam  
 Causidici latratores/rabulæque forenses  
 Nummorum aucupium docti/legumque tyranni.  
 Ære patrocinium uendunt. producere causas  
 Et lites pendere diu/uindemia quædam est.

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

*Amintas*

This haue I proued by playne experience,  
But tell me Faustus, what causeth this offence.

*Faustus*

The roote and the grounde of this misgouernaunce  
Is fauour, rewarde, and wilfull ignoraunce:  
When coyne or fauour once dimmed<sup>1</sup> hath the sight, 885  
Aduē all Iustice, in prison layde is right.  
Yet be in townes a rable fraudulent,  
Murtherers of people, and free of punishment:  
Uaunting and boasting them selfe of medicine,  
And naught perceyuing of science and doctrine: 890  
If they be fetred with ringes and with cheynes,  
Then may they handle and touche priuy veynes:  
Name all diseases and sores at their will,  
Auoyde of cunning, of reason eyther<sup>2</sup> skill:  
Suche ride on mules, and pages by their side, 895  
But if they had right, on asses should they ride.  
As touching rulers of all the commontie,  
The more that they haue of hye auctoritie,  
Of libertie, will, and singuler pleasure,  
So much the more poore people they deuour. 900  
The houndes sometime wont foldes for to keepe,  
Be nowe wilde wolues, deuouring all the sheepe:  
Rulers be robbers, and pillers<sup>3</sup> be pastours,  
Gone is the giding of godly gouernours.  
O where be rulers maynteyners of Iustice, 905

---

Sunt & equestre genus medici/qui tangere uenas  
Nonnunquam illicitas audent: & ponere quædam  
Non intellectis temeraria nomina morbis.  
His & si tenebras palpant/est facta potestas  
Excruciandi ægros/hominesque impune necandi.  
Qui uero in populis præsunt/hominesque guber-  
nant  
Quo plus iuris habent/quantoque licentia maior  
Insanire solent tanto amplius/o ubi sancti

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Where be subduers and slakers of all vice?  
Where be the frendes of mercy and pitie,  
Sometime well ruling, not spoyling<sup>1</sup> the Citie?  
Where be chaste rulers, iust, meke and liberall?  
Chaunged is fortune, death hath deuoured all. 910  
The worst remayneth, gone be the meke and iust,  
In stede of vertue ruleth freewill and lust.  
Where be the fathers right worthy an empire,  
Of whom men coumpted gay tales by the fire:  
Sometime with tales, and otherwhile with songe, 915  
So driuing away the winter nightes longe.  
Alas Amintas, nought bideth that is good,  
No not my cokers, my taberte<sup>2</sup> nor my hood.  
All is consumed, all spent and worne be,  
So is all goodnes and wealth of the Citee. 920  
The temples pilled do bitterly complayne,  
Poore people wayle, and call for helpe in vayne:  
Poore widowes sorowe, and children fatherlesse  
In vayne bewayle, when wolues them oppresse.  
Sinne hath no scourge, and vertue no rewarde, 925  
Who loueth wisdom, his fortune is but harde.  
Counsell and cunning nowe tumble in the dust,  
But what is the cause? lawe turned is to lust:  
Lust standeth in stede of lawe and of Iustice,  
Whereby good liuing subdued is by vice. 930

*Amintas*

I tell thee Faustus, this hastynes of thee  
Passeth the boundes<sup>3</sup> of right and honestie.

Rectores/& iusticiæ/& pietatis amici  
Quos patres sero ante focum memorare solebant?  
Omnia nunc abeunt pessum. spoliata queruntur  
Templa gemunt inopes/uiduæ lachrymantur: &  
huius  
Quænam causa mali? quia stat pro lege libido.  
Fulica. Ista tua o cornix excandescencia fines  
Transit honestatis. scelus omnibus obiiis omne.



*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

All men thou blamest by wrath and hastynes,  
As all Citizens were full of viciousnes.  
What man remember, some liue in innocence, 935  
Some in the Citie be partlesse of offence.

*Faustus*

I am not angry, I say but veritie,  
Heare me Amintas one clause with breuitie:  
As many todes as breede in Irelande,  
And as many Gripes<sup>1</sup> as breede in Englande, 940  
As many Cuckowes as sing in Ianuary,  
And Nightingales as sing in February,  
And as many whales as swimmeth in the fen,  
So many be there in Cities of good men.

*Amintas*

A good man is geason,<sup>2</sup> not easy to be founde 945  
On lande or in Citie, or ouer all the grounde,  
Many thinges longe vnto a perfect man,  
Aske that of Codrus, declare the truth he can,<sup>3</sup>  
Badnes encreaseth and ouer fast doth growe.  
Goodnes and vertue in comming vp be slowe. 950

*Faustus*

Thou art mad I trowe, so many foes haue we,  
As dwell Citizens in all the whole Citie.  
They clip vs, they poule vs, they pill vs to the skin,  
And what they may get that thinke they well to win.

---

Innocuos habitare homines & in urbe memento.  
Cornix. Non habitant colubri quædam balearibus arua  
Proxima/non memini nomen/neque noctua cre-  
tam  
Nec nemus ægeriæ sonipes/nec uir bonus urbem  
Fulica. Vir bonus est animal rarum: paucasque per  
urbes  
Et per rura locos habet/est rarissima uirtus.  
Cornix. Insanis fulica insanis.<sup>4</sup> tot in urbibus hostes  
Sunt tibi quot ciues. hi nos tondentque/pilantque  
Non habita nostri capitis ratione: coartant

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

To theft they constrayne vs, I tell thee by all halowes, 955  
And after by and by they sende vs to the galowes.  
Therefore it is reason if ought of theirs hap  
Or come to our clawes, it priuily to trap.  
They vs oft disceyue, disceyue we them agayne,  
Deuse we slily, gile, subtiltie<sup>1</sup> and trayne. 960  
But this Amintas to me is greatest grieve  
And doubt, for it is ill stealing from a thiefe.  
If it be secrete, we may it well denye,  
If it be knowen, excuse it craftyly.  
Priuy felony<sup>2</sup> though it be vsed longe 965  
Is not called theft, but iniury or wrong,  
All that they haue within these townes playne,  
Is our harde labour, sore trauayle and great payne.

*Amintas*

Nowe thou exceedest the marke of equitie,  
Thou passest reason Faustus I tell to thee. 970

*Faustus*

What then Amintas, have pacience a while,  
Towne dwellers vices doth all the earth<sup>3</sup> defile.  
The ayre is corrupt by their enormitie,  
These summer stormes whence come they, tel thou me:  
Lightning, great windes, fluds, hayle and thunder, 975  
I well remember, oft time the ground here vnder

Nos ad furta ipsi/mox ad suspensia mittunt.  
Fas igitur si quid nostris sese unguibus offert  
Radere. & insidiis ac nostra indagine captos  
Deplummare leui tactu/sensim & pedepressim  
Si uidet/excusa. si sunt secreta/negato  
Furta/quod occultum est/non est iniuria furtum  
Quicquid habent noster labor est/industria  
nostra est

Fulica. Iam longe egrederis metam rationis & æqui.  
Cornix. O fulica improbitas urbana coninquinat orbem.  
Vnde tot in terras ueniunt æstate procellæ/  
Fulmina/uenti/amnes/grando? uidisse recordor

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

Right sore hath quaked, and caused houses fall,  
 Vice of the Citie is roote and cause of all.  
 The Sunne in midday oft time hath lost his light,  
 In like wise the moone in season of the night. 980  
 Both hath bene blacke, or els red as bloud,  
 This signe Amintas pretendeth vs no good.  
 Why growe the weedes and cockle in the corne?  
 Why is hey and grasse oft times all forlorne?  
 Why lose we our seede, our labour and expence, 985  
 Whence commeth murrayne<sup>1</sup> and grievous pestilence?  
 All these proceedeth by mad enormitie,  
 And corrupt maners of them of the Citie:  
 And worse is like<sup>2</sup> yet afterwarde to fall,  
 If they not refourme their liuing bestiall. 990  
 Whence came the furour of hardnes<sup>3</sup> and battayle,  
 Which causeth widowes their spouses to bewayle,  
 Which bringeth with it all kinde of misery,  
 As theft and murther, great death and penury?  
 Forsooth in Cities this furour first began, 995  
 To the confusion of many a doubty man.  
 The Citie is well and ground originall,  
 Both first and last of deadly euils<sup>4</sup> all:  
 Bred in the Citie was cruell Licaon,  
 Bred among herbes was good Dewcalion. 1000

---

Tellurem tremere/ac postes/& tecta labare/  
 Solem obscurari/noctu obtenebrescere lunam.  
 Cur segeti lolium? messi dominantur auenæ?  
 Vua in capreolos transit? calligine uerni  
 Depereunt flores? mala parturit omnia nobis  
 Hæc ciuile nefas/pariet quoque plura deinceps.  
 Vnde uenit furor armorum/bellique tumultus  
 Qui genus omne mali secum uehit? omnibus  
 urbs est  
 Fons & origo malis/descendit ab urbe lycaon.  
 Deucalion Pyrrha cum coniuge rusticus. ille

*The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*

T Among Shepherdes nourished was Rhenus,<sup>1</sup>  
And also his brother the mightie Romulus.  
The cause of the flud in Citie first began,  
Whereby was wasted nere euery beast and man.  
✓ Our Lorde destroyed fīue Cities for outrage, 1005  
Reade where for sinnes he wasted one village.  
I trowe when the world with fire wasted shall be,  
The cause shall proceede and come of some Citie.  
What shall I touche the sauour<sup>2</sup> and the stinke  
Which is in cities, of gutter and of sinke: 1010  
There men be choked with vile and deadly sent,  
Here haue we odour of floures redolent:  
L I coumpt me happy which won in the village,  
As vndefiled with citizens outrage.

*Amintas*

Haue done nowe Faustus, lay here<sup>3</sup> a straw and rest,<sup>4</sup> 1015  
Fill we our bely with cruddes that is best.  
Leaue we the Citie and all ciuill outrage,  
Nowe is it season to turne to the potage,  
After our diner is best<sup>5</sup> in my minde  
The rest to declare, if ought remayne behinde. 1020

Thus endeth the fifth and last Egloge of Alexander  
Barclay, of the Citizen and the man of the countrey.  
Imprinted at London in Paules Churchyarde by Iohn  
Cavvood Printer to the Queenes Maiestie.

*Cum Priuilegio ad imprimendum solum.*

Intulit illuuiem terris. hic abstulit. ille  
Abstulit humanum terris genus/intulit iste.  
Si terra/ut perhibent/flammis abolebitur un-  
quam/  
Istud grande nefas ulla descendet ab urbe.  
Fulica. O cornix iam pone modum sermonibus istis.  
Audio iam dudum pueros de pulte loquentes.  
Cætera/si quicquam superest post prandia dices.  
Pulti indulgendum monet urbibus hora relictis.

FINIS

## NOTES

### Page 1

1. I have used the revised version which appeared in a quarto entitled:

‘Aulica vita, Et opposita huic Vita Privata: A Diversis, Tum Veteribus, Tum Recentioribus autoribus luculenter descripta, et in hoc Enchiridion collecta, atque nunc denuo in lucem edita, ab Henrico Petreo Herdesiano.’

It was published at Frankfort in 1578 and many mistakes which occur in earlier editions of the *De Miseriis Curialium* are corrected.

2. Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini (1405-1464), a typical Renaissance figure, was by nature a man of letters, and by force of circumstances a diplomat. A brilliant orator, with pronounced literary gifts, he became in the course of a distinguished career, bishop, cardinal, and finally, in 1458, Pope. In 1439 Æneas had been appointed Papal Secretary to Pope Felix V, but in 1442 he entered the service of the Emperor Frederick and accompanied him to Vienna. Here he became acquainted with Caspar Schlick, the head of the Imperial Chancellery and Frederick’s confidential adviser. His life at the Imperial Court was most unhappy and his treatise, the *Miseriæ Curialium* records his impressions of the lust, ambition, egoism and depravity of courtiers.

This treatise takes the form of a Latin letter to John Aich. Æneas is himself the best critic of his style, which never betrayed a struggle after polished Latinity, but was always easy and clear. He says:

‘My style of writing is unpolished and bald, but it is frank, and without trappings. I never write with labour, because I do not stretch after things which are too high for me, and which I do not know, but what I have learned I write.’

3. Humphrey Powell has ‘a que’ = ‘à queue.’

4. H.P. has ‘In this same maner.’

5. H.P. has ‘some in myrth & game.’

### Page 2

1. Boccaccio. But Barclay seems to refer to his ‘*Genealogia Deorum Gentilium*.’

2. H.P. has ‘the.’

3. H.P. omits ‘in.’

4. H.P. prints ‘Dull slouth to eschew, my selfe to exercise.’

5. ‘Children must learn to creep ere they can go.’

Heywood. (‘Proverbs.’)

6. J. Humphrey Powell has ‘thynges.’

## Notes: pages 2-4

7. Barclay is indebted to Mantuan's Dedicatory Epistle (dated 1498) which begins:

'Audi, o Pari, ænigma perplexum quod Oedipodes ipse non solveret. ego quinquagenarius et iam canescens adulescentiam meam repperi, et habeo adulescentiam simul et senectam. sed ne longa ambage te teneam, nodum hunc dissolvo. anno præterito, cum Florentia rediens Bononiam pervenissem, intellexi apud quendam litterarium virum esse quendam libellum meum quem olim ante religionem, dum in gymnasio Paduano philosophari inciperem, ludens excuderam et ab illa ætate Adulescentiam vocaveram. carmen est bucolicum in octo eclogas divisum, quod iam diu tamquam abortivum putabam abolitum.' He goes on to say that he now sends it forth in revised and augmented form. See *The Eclogues of Baptista Mantuanus*, edited with Introduction and Notes by W. P. Mustard. 1911..

### Page 3

1. H.P. 'Procedyng in age . . .'
2. Cawood 'muse.' Spenser Society facsimile 'cause.'
3. H.P. '... I called it by name.'
4. H.P. '... with my playne sentence.'
5. H.P. has 'bothe laudes and vertue.'

### Page 4

1. H.P. '... is pleasaunt, fresh, lust and iolitie':
2. Humphrey Powell's edition differs in two important particulars. In the first place he gives two lines which have a genuine ring and which are not in Cawood's version. They follow on Barclay's appeal to the 'chiefe Shepherde' for succour in his work.

'To him for succour in this my worke I call,  
And not on Clio nor olde Melpomene,  
My hope is fixed of him ayded to be  
119 *That he, me direct, my mynde for to expresse:*  
120 *That he, to good ende, my wyt and pen adresse.'*

Secondly, in Powell's edition occurs the statement:

'That *X Egloges*, this hole treatyse doth holde:  
To imitate, of other Poetes olde,'

which opens up the vexed question of the fate of the 'quinque eglogas ex Mantuano' included by Bale in his list of the poet's works.

## Notes: pages 4, 5

In his 'Scriptores,' 1557-9, Bale gives a list of Barclay's works, including:—

'De miseriis aulicorum,' lib. 1.  
'Illustris poetæ novem musis.'  
(Vitam Georgii ex Mantuano.)  
'Quinque Egloges, eiusdem,' lib. 1.  
'Bucolicam Codri.'  
'Eglogam quartam.'

He seems to have obtained his information about the 'Quinque Eglogas ex Mantuano' from a certain John Allen, for in the 'Index Britanniae Scriptorum' or Autograph Notebook, occurs the entry under Barclay's name:

'Ex museo Joannis Alen—  
Mantuani Aeglogas quinque, lib. V.'

Alen is not to be identified with John Allen, the English divine (1476-1534), who was appointed archbishop of Dublin in 1528. Other references describe him as a painter or printer, thus:

'ex officina Joannis Alen; ex Joanne Alen pictore; ex studio Joannis Alen; and ex Joanni Alen pictore.'

It is significant that Bale alters the 'lib. V' of the 'Index' to 'lib. I' in his finished work. Some confusion is apparent, and perhaps the reference is simply to the fifth eclogue. Or perhaps the phrase 'ex Mantuano' implies 'on the model of Mantuan' and is meant to signify the five eclogues published later by Cawood. This is made the more probable by the fact that Alen volunteers no further information about Barclay's pastoral poems. He knew that Barclay had written five eclogues and concluded that they all derived from Mantuan. If this is the case, Humphrey Powell's 'X' must be regarded as a misprint rather than as a coincidence.

If Powell's 'X' is not a typographical blunder for 'V' it is very difficult to account for the complete disappearance of five eclogues from the pen of a writer so well-known to his contemporaries as Barclay.

3. H.P. has 'Some.'

4. H.P. omits 'and.'

### Page 5

1. There is a slight probability that Barclay, in translating the *De Miseriis Curialium*, was following the example of Octovien de Saint-Gelays (1468-1502), Bishop of Angoulême, who included in his '*La Chasse et le départ d'Amours*,' 1509, a débat between a Seigneur de court and a Seigneur des champs. Saint-Gelays may have known the Latin work of Æneas Sylvius, and was largely influenced by the 'Curial'

## Notes: page 5

of Alain Chartier. The resemblance between his *débat* and Barclay's poems is not striking. There is a certain rapprochement, but it proceeds no doubt, from the similarity of the subject-matter.<sup>1</sup> The *débat* may have suggested the propriety of discussing the miseries of courtiers in dialogue form. Moreover, Saint-Gelays was a bishop, and episcopal precedent carried weight with Barclay.

<sup>1</sup>Octovien feigns to have overheard a conversation between a courtier and a country gentleman.

'Dans sa simplicité, ce dernier, avec une bonhomie pleine de finesse, expose les idées qu'il a de la vie à la cour. Il en énumère avec admiration les divers avantages, les joies et les plaisirs: c'est le côté brillant de cette existence. Mais son compagnon, à son tour, lui en dévoile les dessous lamentables, les vices cachés, les dangers de toute sorte, insistant particulièrement sur cette dissimulation générale, cette fausseté qu'engendrent une perpétuelle inquiétude et une continuelle rivalité.'

(Octovien de Saint-Gelays. *Essai biographique et littéraire*. H. J. Molinier. 1910. p. 164.)

The dialogue begins:

'Par dieu dist il/ monsieur des champs beau sire  
Quant plus je pense/au train que nous menons  
Sans sçavoir quoy ne comment devenons  
La court me semble estrange et merveilleuse  
Vostre vie est meilleure et plus heureuse.'

Monseigneur des champs:

'Ha cest bien dit/monseigneur lescuyer  
Vous aultres tous vous plaingez teste saine  
Et ne taichez/qua prendre et estuyer  
Les grans honneurs et richesse mondaine  
Plus amassez de biens/une sepmaine  
Plus de plaisirs/de ioyes et de bon temps  
Que ne faisons/si vi[vo]ns cent ans  
Qui ne voyons/dedans noz maisonnettes  
Fors petit peuple/et povres femmelettes.'

La Chasse et le depart damours.

'Faict et Compose par reverend pere en dieu messire Octovien de saint gelais évesque dangoulesme.'

The Colophon reads:

'Cy fine la chasse et depart damours nouvellement imprime a paris le viiii<sup>e</sup> jour d'avril mil cinq cens et neuf pour Anthoyne Verard marchant libraire, etc.'



## Notes: pages 5, 6

2. Kendall grene: 'a kind of forester's green cloth, so-called from Kendal, county Westmorland, which was famous for its manufacture.' (Halliwell's Dictionary.)
3. Cockers: 'high-laced boots worn by countrymen, and mentioned in *Piers Plowman* and by writers until the reign of Charles I. They were made of rude materials, sometimes of untanned leather.' F. W. Fairholt. 'Costume in England.'
4. A wooden spoon was stuck in one side of his felt hat.
5. H.P. 'one hande.'
6. H.P. '... released him. ...'
7. H.P. '... in myddes of all his goode.'
8. H.P. 'Saue only that he, had lyued all his dayes.'
9. H.P. 'folde.'
10. Powerful fellow. Freke: a warrior, fighting man. M.E.: freke, a warrior, a man; O.E. freca. (Skeat and Mayhew. 'Tudor Glossary.')
11. H.P. 'Peake' (the Peak of Derbyshire).
12. H.P. 'But to the Citie, he sayde, that go woulde he.'

### Page 6

1. For the first six speeches of this Eclogue Barclay is indebted to Mantuan, Eclogue III, lines 1-37:

Faustus. 'Illa hesternæ ruens Baldi de vertice grando,  
Fortunate, fuit nobis innoxia (divis  
gratia nostrarum quibus est custodia frugum)  
sed, veluti ex illis veniens ait Harculus oris,  
Veronensem agrum, pecudes et ovilia sic est  
demolita, casas et pastoralia tecta  
sic evertit, ut agricolis spes nulla supersit.  
agricolis etenim pecus est substantia, et arva  
his subjecta malis; grandi thesaurus in arca  
civibus est quem nulla queat contundere grando,  
nulla pruina, gelu nullum, nullæ aeris iræ.

Fortunatus. Nescio quis ventos tempestatesque gubernat;  
id scio (sed neque si scio sat scio, sed tamen ausim  
dicere—quid? vitane ideo multabor in ipsa?)  
numina si, ut perhibent, orbem moderantur ab alto,  
extimo nil dueros hominum curare labores.  
aspice quo tenuem victum sudore paramus,  
quot mala pro grege, pro natis, pro coniuge pastor  
fert miser. infestis æstate caloribus ardet,

## Notes: pages 6-8

frigoribus riget hibernis; dormimus ad imbrem  
cotibus in duris vel humi; contagia mille,  
mille premunt morbi pecudes, discrimina mille  
sollicitant, latro insidias intentat ovili  
atque lupus milesque lupo furacior omni.  
ut manus assiduo detrita incalluit usu,  
squaluit os, barba obriguit, cutis aruit æstu,  
una repentino rapit omnia turbine grando.  
hoc Superi faciunt quibus inclinamur ad aras  
et quibus offerimus faculas et cerea vota.  
nescio quæ pietas et quæ clementia tantis  
cladibus involvat pastores omnium egenos.

Faustus. Fortunate, scelus nobis hæc omnia nostrum  
ingerit; ætherei sententia Iudicis æqua est.

Fortunatus. Quod scelus? an fuimus Christi vitæ insidiati?

Faustus. Iurgia, furta, iræ, Venus et mendacia rixæ.

Fortunatus. Quid meruere boni? nec enim scelus obruit omnes,  
et tamen una omnes pariter pessumdat Erinys.'

2. H.P. 'as the olde.'

3. H.P. 'waxed.'

4. H.P. '... wors chaūce we nede not fere.'

5. 'sikerly': certainly, surely. M.E. sikerly (Chaucer); sikerliche (P. Plowman); O.E. sicor, sure, safe. (Bosworth, Toller.) (Tudor Glossary.)

### Page 7

1. H.P. '... doeth our beastes oppresse.'

2. H.P. 'scurfy.'

3. H.P. 'With a litel might ...'

### Page 8

1. 'Stockfishe': dried haddock or cod; 'haddockes or hakes indurate and dried with coulde, and beaten with clubbes or stockes, by reason whereof the Germayns caule them stockefysshe,' R. Eden, Works (ed. Arber, p. 303); cf. *The Tempest* iii. 2, 79. The reason for the name is uncertain; Koolman gives the Low German form as 'stok-fisk,' and thinks they were so-called because dried upon 'stocks' or poles in the sun.' (Tudor Glossary.)

2. Cawood 'wot I well'; Spenser Society facsimile 'wot I will.'

## Notes: pages 8-10

3. Cawood and Spenser Society facsimile 'heart.' H.P. has 'harde I.'
4. Parish Priest.
5. H.P. has 'Faules.' Cawood 'Fales.'
6. H.P. 'surely.'

### Page 9

1. 'leasing': lying, falsehood, a lie. Cf. *Twelfth Night* I. v, 105. M.E. leesyng; O.E. leāsung. (Tudor Glossary.)
2. 'sterve': to die. M.E. sterve, to die, especially to die of famine. O.E. steorfan, to die. Cp. German sterben. (Tudor Glossary.)
3. H.P. has 'wherfore.'
4. H.P. has 'in some daie of the weke.'

### Page 10

1. H.P. has 'haue kyllled.'
2. 'Daunce the raye': rare expression. Cf. M.H.G. reie, rei, etc., and MLG rei, of obscure origin. The term means a kind of round dance. Cf. Chaucer, *House of Fame*, iii, 146.

'To lerne love daunces, springes,  
Reyes, and these straunge thinges.'

Cf. Skelton, *Replycacyon*, 169.

'The heritykes ragged ray.'

3. Hurling: 'is an ancient exercise, and seems originally to have been a species of the hand-ball; it was played by the Romans with a ball called harpastum, a word probably derived from harpago, to snatch or take by violence. The contending parties endeavoured to force the ball one from the other, and they who could retain it long enough to cast it beyond an appointed boundary were the conquerors. The inhabitants of the western counties of England have long been famous for their skill in the practice of this pastime.' Strutt, *Sports*, p. 91.

4. To throwe the barre: frequently mentioned by romance writers as a necessary part of a hero's education. According to Hall and Holinshed a favourite exercise of Henry VIII.

5. To throwe the axeltrie: a rustic variant of throwing the bar. Strutt, *Sports*, p. 62.

6. H.P. 'Doo awaie . . .'

7. 'Carefull': full of care.

*Notes: pages 11-14*

**Page 11**

1. 'His hode all pounsed and *garded* lyke a cage.' Skelton, *Bowge of Court*.

*Garded*: trimmed, provided with an ornamental border or trimming. Cf. *Merchant of Venice*, II, ii. 164.

*Barded*: caparisoned or marked with stripes or bars. (Tudor Glossary.)

2. H.P. has 'by nede.'

3. H.P. has 'payne is.'

4. *Cawood* 'revilde': pleated, open at the neck all round. F. W. Fairholt. 'Citizen and Uplondyshman.' Spenser Society facsimile 'reviled.'

5. 'And yet she will jet

Lyke a jollyvet.' Skelton, *Elynour Rummynge*.

To jet: to fling about the body, to strut about.

'I jette, Je me jamboye.' Palsgrave. French *jetter* (*jecter*), to throw. (Cotgrave.) (Tudor Glossary.)

6. 'For they wyll haue no losse

Of peny nor of crosse.' Skelton, 'Colyn Cloute.'

*Crosse*: an allusion to the cross which universally appeared on the reverse of the coinage at this time. F. W. Fairholt. 'Citizen and Uplondyshman.'

7. 'Ye bost, ye face, ye *crake*.' Skelton, 'Colyn Cloute.'

To *crake*, to crack: to talk big, boast, brag. M.E. *crakyn*, to boast; 'crakere, bost-maker.' (Tudor Glossary.)

8. *Wood*: mad. M.E. *wood*; O.E. *wōd*.

9. H.P. 'Nought haue the wretches . . .'

10. H.P. omits 'by': 'I see experience.'

**Page 12**

1. H.P. 'Than nede in the court. . .'

2. See Note 1. p. 52.

3. Spenser Society facsimile 'iye.'

**Page 13**

1. H.P. 'But trouth is cōmitted, most greuons faut or crime.'

2. H.P. omits 'the.'

**Page 14**

1. H.P. 'deme.'

2. H.P. 'muche.'

3. *Cawood* 'Minalcas.' Spenser Society facsimile 'Minaicas.'

4. H.P. 'comytted.'

*Notes: pages 15, 16*

**Page 15**

1. and 2. H.P. 'maner.'
3. H.P. 'Sate. . . . . sectes . . . . .'
4. Cawood 'hye' (but first letter smeared). Spenser Society facsimile 'bye.'
5. H.P. 'wold.'
6. 'mel': meddle, have to do with. M.E. melle, to mix. O.F. meller, mesler (F. mêler). (Tudor Glossary.)

**Page 16**

1. The allusion is to John Morton (1420?-1500), who was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury, October 6th, 1486. The manor of Mortlake belonged to the see of Canterbury and was the occasional residence of the Archbishops, 'most of whom have dated some of their public acts from that place.'
  2. 'won': to dwell. Cf. Shepheards Calendar, September, 184. M.E. wone, to dwell, O.E. wunian, to dwell. (Tudor Glossary.)
  3. H.P. 'When tyme he lyued, some blamed him ywys.'
  4. 'iwis': certainly, assuredly. M.E. iwis, certainly, truly. O.E. gewiss, certain. (Tudor Glossary.)
  5. H.P. 'doth.'
  6. Barclay is indebted to Virgil for his list of pastoral names. The incident related is most probably fictitious.
  7. H.P. 'Whyle I was yonger, he came by our cottage.'
  8. Alcock, Bishop of Ely 1486-1500, bore a reputation for sanctity which even Bale endorsed, writing that he was 'given to Learning and Piety from his Childhood, growing from grace to grace, so that in his age none in England was higher for holiness.'
- He was successively Bishop of Rochester, Worcester and Ely. In 1462 he was made Master of the Rolls, and in 1474 Lord Chancellor. An eminent architect, he was appointed Controller of the Royal Works on the accession of Henry VII.
- 'His chapel at Ely, the Episcopal Palace and Great St. Mary's at Cambridge, alike bear witness to his skill and taste as an architectural restorer. He was a generous benefactor to the University of Cambridge, where he not only endowed Peterhouse, but founded Jesus College on the decayed nunnery of St. Rhadegund.'

## Notes: pages 16-18

9. It is not necessary to seek a resemblance between the transparent allegory of these lines and the punning allusion in Mantuan's ninth Eclogue, line 213, to Falcone de' Sinibaldi, papal treasurer under Innocent VIII:

'pastor adest quadam ducens ex alite nomen.'

Alcock himself was accustomed to pun on his name.

In Dibdin's *Typographical Antiquities*, Vol. 2, pp. 409-11, is a description of one of Alcock's sermons. On the recto of the first leaf is a woodcut of Alcock in the pulpit, with a cock on each side of him. Beneath this cut is the title: 'Gallicantus Johannis Alcock epi Eliensis ad cōfratres suos curatos in sinodo apud Bernwell xxv die mensis Septembris Anno Millesimo cccc nonagesimo octavo.'

10 and 11. Probably an allusion to Richard Foxe (1448?-1528), Bishop of Winchester, Lord Privy Seal to Henry VII and Henry VIII and founder of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. The 'butchers dogges wood' may be an indirect reference to his erstwhile secretary, Wolsey. Foxe was credited by Erasmus (who gives More as his authority) with the ingenious method of extortion later attributed by Bacon to Morton, and known as 'Morton's Fork.'

12. H.P. omits the second 'no.'

### Page 17

1. H.P. '... to make comparison.'
2. Cawood 'death.' Spenser Society facsimile 'deathb.'
3. H.P. 'where as.'

### Page 18

1. H.P. assigns the lines differently:

Coridon. 'I praie the Cornix, procede, tell by and by.

Of court and courtiers, the payne and mysery.

Cornix. 'That were a longe mattier, and very harde to do.'

2. By and by: immediately. (Tudor Glossary.)
3. H.P. 'gay.'
4. H.P. 'that.'

The drinking episode is probably taken from Mantuan, Eclogue 9, l. 22: 'pocula prende; fluet melius post pocula sermo.'

5. Spenser Society facsimile 'out.'

## Notes: pages 19-23

### Page 19

1. 'Sotte': fool. Cf. Skelton, 'Folys and sottys.'
2. 'Geke, or geck': scorn, hence object of scorn, fool. Cf. *Twelfth Night* v, 1. (Halliwell's Dictionary.)
3. Difficult to locate. Probably Quanye, near Ely.
4. Trompington, Trumpington: a suburb of Cambridge. Cf. Chaucer's *Reve's Tale*, l. 1:

'At Trumpington, nat fer fro Cantebrigge,  
Ther goth a brook and over that a brigge,  
Up-on the whiche brook ther stant a melle.'

5. H.P. 'Godmanchester.' (In Huntingdonshire; not far from Cambridge.) This is probably the correct reading.
6. Æneas Sylvius continues: 'Repetenda est igitur paterna vox, qua ille STVLTOŚ esse autumat singulos, qui non coacte Principibus seruiunt. Clara vox, dura tamen fortasse nonnullis videtur. Sed audiant, quo pacto probetur.'

### Page 20

1. H.P. 'in a twelue month.'
2. H.P. 'denaye.'
3. H.P. 'worthy.'
4. H.P. 'doeth to the court resort.'
5. H.P. 'gettyng.'
6. The Latin continues: 'Quas res melius longe cognoscemus, si, quæ sint Curialium desideria, & quos sibi constituent fines, præuiderimus.'

### Page 21

1. Cawood 'fiue.' Spenser Society facsimile 'fine.'

### Page 22

1. H.P. 'oft tymes.'

### Page 23

1. A remarkable alliterative line. The allusion in the Latin to Frederic and 'Henricus Sanctus' is adapted to the taste of English readers, and is expanded into rather fulsome praise of the Tudor kings, Henry VII and Henry VIII.
2. H.P. 'Note al these vertues, of the saied princes all.'
3. H.P. '... except I vtterly.'

## *Notes: pages 24-27*

### **Page 24**

1. H.P. 'where.'
2. H.P. 'in right.'
3. H.P. 'Right well excuseth, I thought not erst, trust me.'  
'Sithene': since.
4. H.P. 'Not mucche abuseth . . .'
5. Barclay has personified the Latin 'elleborus,' a name applied to different plants, all poisonous, used as remedies in mental diseases. Perhaps he was thinking of Heliodorus, the celebrated surgeon.

### **Page 25**

1. Cawood: 'Siluius.' Spenser Society facsimile 'Stiuius.'
2. H.P. 'byshop.' Æneas Sylvius was appointed Bishop of Trieste by Pope Nicholas V, 1447. He was elected Pope in 1458.

### **Page 26**

1. H.P. 'Which can by crafte, his place & tyme in weyt.'
2. H.P. 'Except he hath done.'

### **Page 27**

1. This passage is preserved in a fragment, at the British Museum, consisting of two pages of Barclay's Eclogues.

The reading differs from that of Humphrey Powell's edition and from that of Cawood's.

Letters at the edge of the page are obscured.

Coridon. ' . . . at the leste way suche men reputed be  
          . . . en of great honour/amonge the cōmonte  
          Whyle suche walke/in court or in strete  
          Eche man inclynyth/whiche them doth se or mete  
          . . . othe the bonet/a becke at euery worde  
          . . . e man must nedys/gyue place vnto my lorde  
          . . . his degre/birth/or promocyon  
          . . . uche of the comons/haue salutacion  
          . . . shortly to say/men do them more honour  
          . . . han to the fygure/of Cryste our sauour.

Cornix. . . . as thou sayst/forsoth my Coridon  
          . . . harke what they say/at last whan men be gone  
          . . . n they salute them/in the deuyls name  
          . . . d pray vnto god/that they may dye with shame



## *Notes: pages 27-29*

... so doth many/by tourment and dolour  
... an fykyl fortune/lykyth on them to lour  
... suche as dothe stoupe/to them before their face  
... ueth them a mocke/whan they be out of place  
... one dothe whysper/soft in an others ere  
... sayth this tyran is feller than a bere.'

2. H.P. 'in others ere.'

### **Page 28**

1. H.P. 'Bisshop Siluius.'

The fragment continues:

'Lo this same is he/whiche by his bad counsell  
Cawseth our prince/to be to vs to fell  
Thys same is he/which rayseth deme and tax  
This same is he/whiche strayneth men on racks  
This same is he/whiche cawseth all this war  
Thys same is he/which al our welth doth mar  
This is of com . . ns/the veray dedly mall  
Whiche with these charges/thus dothe oppres vs al  
Who hym displeseth/he beteth all to dust  
Thys same is he/which killith whom hym lust  
That all the deuyls/of hell/hym hence carry  
That we no lenger/endure his tyranny.'

2. 'deme': disme, dime: a tithe.

3. H.P. 'taxes.'

4. 'mall': hammer, club; hence scourge.

5. The fragment concludes:

Coridon. 'Cornix my frende/thou spekest now to playne  
I fere lest thys gere/shall tourne vs vnto payne  
If any man be nere/be styll a whyle and harke.'

Cornix. 'I fere nat at all/now I am set on warke  
Bisyde thys Coridon/in court most parte doth dwel  
Flateres and lyers/Coriers of fauell  
Iuggelers and dezers and suche a schamfull rable  
Which for a dynner/lawd men no thyng laudable  
But men circumspect/which be dyscrete and wyse  
Doth suche vayne/lawdes vtterly despyse.'

6. 'Gere': talk, affair, business. (Tudor Glossary.)

### **Page 29**

1. 'Curry fauell': one who solicits favour by flattery. 'Curry favell, a flatterer, 'estrille faveau,' Palsgrave; altered to curry favour, 'A number

## Notes: pages 29-32

of prodigal currie favours.' Holinshed. Chronicle II, 144. In earlier English 'Favel' occurs as the proper name of a fallow-coloured horse. The fallow horse was proverbial as the type of hypocrisy and duplicity, with reference to the 'equus pallidus' of Apocalypse vi. 8, which was explained as representing the hypocrites who gain a reputation for sanctity by the ascetic pallor of their faces.' (Tudor Glossary.)

2. 'pill': to strip, rob; hence, empty.

3. 'girne': to snarl, grin. Cf. Spenser F.Q. v. 12, 15. M.E. gyryn, to grin. (Barbour's Bruce iv. 322.) (Tudor Glossary.)

4. Difficult to locate. Perhaps a pun is intended. It is quite possible that these lines veil uncomplimentary allusions to contemporary persons, but it is more than difficult to assign a definite identity to such mysterious individuals.

### Page 30

1. H.P. 'gopes.'

2. place, office.

### Page 32

1. The motive of the approaching storm is probably imitated from Mantuan, who used the same device to close his second and third Eclogues, thus:

'Cernis ut a summo liventia nubila Baldo  
se agglomerent? critur grando; ne forte vagantes  
tempestas deprendat oves, discedere tempus,'

and

'sed iam Vesper adest et sol se in nube recondens,  
dum cadit, agricolis vicinos nuntiat imbres.'

2. H.P. 'Sometyme in the Court, in fauour great thei be.'

3. Both Cawood and Powell print 'Elaudus.' The 'As with one Nero named Claudus' is strange from such a scholarly writer as Barclay, and is probably to be attributed to carelessness or hasty work. The point is that Sejanus held office under the Emperor Tiberius, whose full name was Tiberius Claudius Nero Cæsar. Barclay's translation is misleading and suggests the later Nero, by name Nero Claudius Cæsar Drusus Germanicus.

This passage is evidence of Barclay's power of discrimination and sense of form. Æneas Sylvius discusses the futility of power and the danger it entails, and quotes famous examples to prove his point. He mentions Sejanus without describing his fate. This description, however, follows some lines further on, but the hiatus is avoided by Barclay.

## Notes: pages 33, 34

### Page 33

1. H.P. 'this.'
2. H.P. 'offence.'

### Page 34

1. H.P. 'shortly.'

2. 'Collier of Croydon' seems to have been a proverbial expression, but the term may cloak an allusion to Rowland Philips, who was collated to the vicarage of Croydon in 1497, was a canon of St. Paul's and warden of Merton College, Oxford. He resigned his position at Croydon in 1538, and was esteemed, according to Holinshed, 'a notable preacher.' (Lyson's *Environs of London*, Vol. I, p. 189.)

Stow also refers to Philips as 'a famous and notable preacher,' while Fox, the martyrologist, gives the following anecdote: 'Rowland Philips was once preaching at St. Paul's against the art of Printing, at that time, lately introduced into England, and in the course of his sermon, uttered this sentence: 'We (meaning the Roman Catholics) must root out printing, or printing will root out us.' (Cf. *History of Croydon* by D. W. Garrow, p. 297.)

The connection between Croydon and the many references to colliers becomes clear in the light of the following passages from the *History and Antiquities of Croydon* by D. W. Garrow. 1818.

### Page 195:

'Little could be said by ancient writers respecting the trade of this place; still, however, in former times Croydon was a town of some trade, and the commodities chiefly in request were Oatmeal and *Charcoal*; for the purchase of these, the markets were regularly attended by the London dealers and Innkeepers. Large quantities of Oatmeal were made here; and the *Charcoal* was made from the wood upon the adjoining hills, of which we are informed there was great abundance.'

### Page 21:

'An antient description of Croydon in the time of Queen Elizabeth, says that the streets were deep hollow ways, and very dirty, the houses generally with wood steps into them, and darkened by large trees growing before them—that the inhabitants in general were smiths and *colliers*.'

'Thomas Peend, in the fable of Hermaphroditus and Salmacis, written in 1565, says that Vulcan, a 'Croydon sanguine right did seeme' In the tragedy of Locrine, occurs the well-known distich,

'The Colliers of Croydon,  
The Rustics of Roydon.'

## Notes: pages 34-37

And 'Grim the Collier of Croydon, or the Devil and his Dame, with the Devil and St. Dunstan,' is the title of a comedy in 1662.'

Garrow quotes also an 'extract from a poem written by Patrick Hannay, Gent., and printed in 1662, in which he gives a minute though not a favourable description of the town of Croydon.'

### Page 24:

'In midst of these<sup>1</sup> stands Croydon cloath'd in blacke,  
In a low bottome sinke of all these hills:  
And is receipt of all the durtie wracke,  
Which from their tops still in abundance trils.  
The vnpu'd lanes with muddie mire it fills,  
If one shower fall, or if that blessing stay,  
You may well smell, but neuer see your way.

.....  
And those who there inhabit, suting well  
With such a place, doe either nigros seeme  
Or harbingers for Pluto, prince of hell;  
Or his fire-beaters one might rightly deeme,  
There sight would make a soull of hell to dreame;  
Besmeard with sut, and breathing pitchie smoake,  
Which, saue themselves, a liuing wight would choke.  
These with the Demi-gods still disagreeing  
(As vice with vertue euer is at iarre)  
With all who in the pleasant woods haue being  
Doe vndertake an euerlasting warre,  
Cut down their groues, and often doe them skarre,  
And in a close-pent fire their arbours burne,  
While as the Muses can doe nought but mourne.'

(Gent. Mag., Vol. lxxxii, p. 158.)

### Page 35

1. H.P. '... we may examples see.'
2. H.P. 'hande.'

### Page 36

1. H.P. 'or.'
2. H.P. 'of.'
3. H.P. 'for to be.'
4. H.P. 'bryng.'

### Page 37

1. H.P. 'to put.'
2. H.P. 'Hath euyll wyll.'

<sup>1</sup> 'barren downes' formerly referred to.

## Notes: pages 37-43

3. H.P. 'on man doeth . . .'

4. H.P. 'prince.'

5. H.P. 'furour.'

### Page 38

1. H.P. 'se we.'

2. H.P. 'their.'

3. Barclay avoids this direct reference.

### Page 40

1. It is remarkable that while Æneas Sylvius frequently quotes from Horace and Juvenal, and mentions his authority, Barclay almost invariably incorporates the quotations into his work without commenting on their source.

### Page 41

1. Cawood 'pardie,' Spenser Society facsimile 'pardie.' (stop.)

2. 'grutch': to grudge, repine, murmur. 'I grutche, I repyne agaynst a thyng, Je grommelle.' Palsgrave. A Lancashire and East Anglian word. M.E. grucche. O.F. (Picard) groucher (O.F. grocer). (Tudor Glossary.)

3. H.P. 'Bestow it wele. . . .'

4. 'force': to trouble oneself, care.

### Page 42

1. Cawood 'thing,' Spenser Society facsimile 'thing.' (stop.)

2. H.P. 'gilte.'

3. 'trayne': trains: artifices, stratagems. Cf. *Macbeth* iv. 3. 118. M.E. trayne: deceit. O.F. traine, 'trahison' (Godefroy.) Cf. F. 'traine': a plot, practice, device. (Cotgrave.) (Tudor Glossary.)

### Page 43

1. John Stow in his *Survey of London*, 1598, describes the Clink as being 'on the Banke' in the borough of Southwark. He says, 'Then next is the Clink, a gaol or prison for the trespassers in those parts; namely, in old time, for such as should brabble, frey, or break the peace on the said bank, or in the brothell houses, they were by the inhabitants thereabouts apprehended and committed to this gaol, where they were straitly imprisoned.' Of the Fleet he writes, 'Without Ludgate, on the right hand, or north side from the said gate lieth the Old Bayley, as I said, then the high street called Ludgate hill down to Fleet Lane, in which lane standeth the Fleet, a prison house so called of the Fleet or water running by it, and sometime flowing about it, but now vaulted over.'

Stow's *Survey of London*, ed. by W. J. Thoms, 1842, p. 151 and p. 146.

## *Notes: pages 44-51*

### **Page 44**

1. 'Thou makest me claw where it itcheth not.' Heywood. (Proverbs.)

### **Page 45**

1. H.P. 'Roode of Some': Soham, near Ely.
2. H.P. 'for to had byd.'

### **Page 47**

1. 'To rob Peter and pay Poule.' Heywood. (Proverbs.)

### **Page 48**

1. The parish priest.

### **Page 49**

1. The conclusion of the Eclogue with its motive of approaching storm is an echo of Mantuan, who used the same device in his second and third Eclogue. But it all has the appearance of originality.

Cf. Mantuan, *Ecloga* II, l. 172:

Cernis ut a summo liventia nubila Baldo  
se agglomerent? oritur grando; ne forte vagantes  
tempestas deprendat oves, discedere tempus.

and Mantuan III. Conclusion:

Flendum hodie nobis fuerat; nam tristia nocte  
nescio quæ mæstis cernebam insomnia formis.  
sed iam Vesper ad est et sol se in nube recondens,  
dum cadit, agricolis vicinos nuntiat imbres;  
cogere et ad caulas pecudes convertere tempus.

2. H.P. 'or.'

### **Page 51**

1. For the beginning of the Eclogue Barclay is indebted to Mantuan, *Ecloga* II, ls. 1-16.

Faustus. Cur tam serus ades? quid te (iam septima lux est)  
detinuit? gregibusne nocent hæc pascua vestris?

Fortunatus. Fauste, Padus nostros qui præterlabitur agros  
creverat et tumidis ripas æquaverat undis;  
nos, cura gregis omissa, privata cœgit  
publicaque utilitas ripam munire diurnis  
nocturnisque operis fluviumque arcere furentem,  
.....nam liquitur altis  
nix hiberna iugis, implent cava flumina montes.

*Notes: pages 51-55*

Faustus. Se exonerant fluviosque onerant. sic flumina rursum  
se exonerant pelagusque onerant; hominum quoque mos est  
quæ nos cumque premunt alieno imponere tergo.

2. H.P. '.... I dyd departe.'
3. Heywood has a proverb:  
'When the belly is full, the bones would be at rest.' (Proverbs.)
4. H.P. 'lacke.'
5. Cawood 'lustely.' Spenser Society facsimile 'iustely.'

**Page 52**

1. H.P. 'for the tyme.'
2. H.P. 'floods of great rayne.'
3. H.P. 'ground.'
4. H.P. by mistake assigns this speech to Coridon.

**Page 53**

1. H.P. 'tune.'
2. H.P. 'smyle.'
3. H.P. 'season.'
4. 'sapour': savour.

**Page 54**

1. H.P. 'enuy.'
2. H.P. 'clearely.'
3. H.P. 'your.'

**Page 55**

1. H.P. 'away.'
2. H.P. 'and of.'
3. H.P. omits 'in.'
4. 'harnes': the defensive or body armour of a man-at-arms; the defensive equipment of a horseman. Cf. *Macbeth* v. 5, 52. 'I can remember that I buckled his (the King's) harness when he went into Blackheath field.' Latimer, Sermon, p. 101. M.E. harneys: armour. (Tudor Glossary.)
5. H.P. 'or.'
6. H.P. 'Or an armye ready, arrayed to the warre.'

*Notes: pages 56-63*

**Page 56**

1. 'disgising': a kind of mumming or dramatic representation. (Halliwell's Dictionary.)
2. H.P. 'byldyng.'
3. H.P. 'shadowed.'

**Page 57**

1. H.P. 'that.'

**Page 58**

1. H.P. 'pleasures.'
2. H.P. 'byldyng.'
3. H.P. 'namely to thy paine.'

**Page 59**

1. H.P. 'cloked.'
2. H.P. 'Some ar not content: . . .'
3. H.P. 'more of.'

**Page 60**

1. H.P. 'artēs.'
2. H.P. 'this same.'
3. H.P. 'oft tymes.'
4. H.P. 'it is delyte.'
5. H.P. ' . . . which haue but littell skylle.'

The reference here is to Cornish, Crane and Kite of the Chapel Royal.

**Page 61**

1. H.P. 'durst.'
2. H.P. 'or.'
3. H.P. 'recounted.'
4. H.P. 'dede.'

**Page 62**

1. H.P. 'secrete.'

**Page 63**

1. H.P. 'with.'
2. 'French gise': in Tudor England a knowledge of the French language and social customs was "the accepted badge of gentility."
3. H.P. 'folke.'
4. H.P. 'the Princes.'



## Notes: pages 64-70

### Page 64

1. H.P. 'thou neades must.'
2. H.P. 'Yet neadest must thou, eschew season principall.'

### Page 65

1. H.P. 'synne.'
2. H.P. 'contrary.'
3. H.P. 'swear.'
4. The string of names is borrowed from Mantuan's fourth Ecloga, l. 176:  
'Thestylis et Phyllis, Galatea, Neæra, Lycoris.'

### Page 66

1. 'large bushes set': the Latin 'qui crines ventilant.' 'Bush': a bushy head of hair: a common use in the sixteenth century.
2. 'gambauld': gambol, frisk about.
3. 'feat': for feateously, feateously: elegantly, dexterously, nimbly. M.E. fetysly, exquisitely; fetys, well-made, handsome (Chaucer). O.F. fetis; Latin, facticius. (Tudor Glossary.)
4. 'gent': gracefully, elegantly.

Barclay probably derives his tone of coarse invective from Mantuan's fourth Ecloga 'De Natura Mulierum' and from Juvenal's Sixth Satire.

5. H.P. 'passed.'

### Page 67

1. H.P. 'this vyle.'
2. H.P. 'more.'
3. H.P. 'them.'

### Page 68

1. H.P. 'maiest thou.'
2. H.P. 'owne propre.'
3. H.P. 'It is with suche.'
4. H.P. 'but small.'
5. H.P. 'priuey.'

### Page 69

1. H.P. 'there styll with.'

### Page 70

1. H.P. 'women.'
2. 'Out of sight out of mind.' Heywood. (Epigrams upon Proverbs.)
3. 'Burnt child fire dreadeth.' Heywood. (Proverbs.)  
H.P. has 'styll after dredeth fyre.'

## *Notes: pages 71-76*

### **Page 71**

1. H.P. 'or.'
2. H.P. 'odour.'
3. Saint Paul: beheaded on the Ostian Road just outside Rome, A.D. 67c.
4. 'To gather men wont . . .'
5. H.P. 'goodes.'

### **Page 72**

1. 'potcroke': pothook.
2. 'broche': a spit.
3. H.P. 'some.'
4. H.P. 'early.'

### **Page 73**

1. 'estate': man of rank, noble. F. estat, office, dignity, rank, degree which a man hath (Cotgrave). (Tudor Glossary.)
2. H.P. 'bytter.'
3. H.P. 'greter.'

For the humorous description of the troubles of a courtier at meal-times Barclay is indebted to the Latin, but he may also have known the fifth satire of Juvenal with which Æneas Sylvius was obviously acquainted.

### **Page 74**

1. H.P. 'art thou.'
2. H.P. ' . . . be set to in the season.'

### **Page 75**

1. H.P. 'baddest.'
2. H.P. 'nor.'
3. H.P. 'neades.'

### **Page 76**

1. H.P. 'man.'
2. H.P. 'thou must go.'
3. Cawood 'sauour.' Spenser Society facsimile 'fauour.'
4. Cawood 'As.' Spenser Society facsimile 'Is.'
5. 'Muscadell': a rich, sweet-smelling wine. (Halliwell's Dictionary.)
6. 'Caprike': a kind of wine. (Halliwell's Dictionary.)

## Notes: pages 76-81

7. 'Romney': a kind of Spanish wine. (Halliwell's Dictionary.)
8. 'Maluesy': Malmsey wine. (Halliwell's Dictionary.)
9. Genoa.
10. H.P. 'thrust.'
11. H.P. 'seme.'

### Page 77

1. 'lowne': lazy, idle fellow.
2. 'limner': a limmer, scoundrel, rascal, rogue. Cf. Ben Jonson, *Sad Shepherd*, ii, 1. In common provincial use in the North country. (Tudor Glossary.)
3. H.P. 'thrust' (usual spelling in H.P.'s edition).
4. H.P. 'thy betters.'
5. H.P. 'shalte fynde.'
6. H.P. 'no tin store.'

### Page 78

1. H.P. 'We maie therof haue plenty, whan we call.'
2. H.P. 'trouth.'
3. H.P. 'How rouleth my tonge now, that I without paine.'

### Page 80

1. At a cheap rate, flesh being then at a discount. F. W. Fairholt. 'Citizen and Uplondyshmon.'
2. H.P. 'vncleane.'
3. H.P. 'sauce ne spice.'

### Page 81

1. H.P. 'Oft tyme thy stomake, it causeth to rebuke.' 'Reboke': eructate.
2. 'Saltyfyshe, stockfyshe, nor heryng,  
It is not for your werynge.'  
Skelton. 'Colyn Cloute.'
3. H.P. 'sauour.'
4. For this Æneas is indebted to Juvenal's fifth satire, l. 90:  
'propter quod Romæ cum Bocchare nemo lavatur,'

though he fails to acknowledge his obligation.

Barclay probably did not understand the reference to Bocchar, so he avoided it. He avoids, too, a reference to Caspar Schlick which follows in the Latin.

## Notes: pages 81, 82

5. Barclay omits the reference to Caspar Schlick which follows here:

'Ego magnifico hero meo Caspari, Cancellario, gratias ago, qui me hac ex sentina immundiciarum detraxit, & ad lautam eius mensam deduxit: quamvis nisi ipse fuisset, iam Curiarum tædijs renunciassem. Sed persequar cœptum iter.'

6. This echoes Juvenal, Sat. 5, l. 103:

'vos anguilla manet longæ cognata colubrae  
aut glacie aspersus maculis Tiberinus, et ipse  
vernula riparum, pinguis torrente cloaca,  
et solitus mediæ cryptam penetrare Suburæ,'

although again the obligation is ignored.

### Page 82

1. H.P. 'them.'

2. H.P. 'lustes.'

3. H.P. 'much dyurse.'

4. H.P. 'as weary, as dogge of the bow': 'as weary as a dog of hunting.'  
A 'dog for the bowe' was a dog used in shooting; such dogs, being well trained and obedient, were taken to typify humble or subservient people.  
N.E.D.

Cf. Chaucer's *Friar's Tale*:

'For in this world nis dogge for the bowe,  
That can an hurt deer from an hool y-knowe,  
Bet than this Somnour knew a sly lechour.'

*Merchant's Tale*:

'And eek to Januarie he gooth as lowe  
As ever dide a dogge for the bowe.'

Udall, Erasm. Apoph.: 'He . . . with lacke of vitailles brought those chop-logues or greate pratlers as lowe as dogge to the bowe.'

5. H.P. 'sweete.'

6. The description of the bread offered to courtiers Æneas takes from Juvenal, Sat. 5, l. 67:

'ecce, alius quanto porrexit murmure panem  
vix fractum, solidæ iam mucida frusta farinæ,  
quæ genuinum agitent, non admittentia morsum;  
sed tener et niveus mollique siligine fictus  
servatur domino.'

## Notes: pages 83-85

### Page 83

1. H.P. 'These fyll the belly all, if we hongre sore.'
2. 'bite upon the bridle': to be impatient of restraint. (Tudor Glossary.)
3. Cawood 'fell.' Spenser Society reprint 'felt.'
4. H.P. 'and.'
5. H.P. 'hye.'
6. Æneas Sylvius has a long passage on the rare fish prepared for the lord which he borrows almost wholesale from Juvenal, Sat. 5:

'Interea Domini piscem, quem Corsica misit, vel Taurominitanæ rupes. Sæuientia namque guttura satiare non sufficiunt nostra flumina, nec maria: dum piscatores proxima quæque scrutantur retibus, nec piscem sinunt in vicinia crescere. Ecce mox alium, qui longi latique pectoris: nec non Squillam defert, asparagis vndique septam; Cuius cauda nedum familiam, sed hospites quoque, si qui affuerint conuiuasque despicit. Ille Murænam adducit ex Sicilia, quam inter Scillam et Charybdin cepit, dum Auster se contineret. Quid Accipenser, Trutas, temulas, aut alios pisces enumerare attinet?'

Barclay omits this.

### Page 84

1. 'Howe some of you do eate  
In Lenton season fleshe mete,  
Fesauntes, partryche, and cranes;  
Men call you therfor prophanes.'  
Skelton, 'Colyn Cloute.'
2. 'bittor': a bittern. Middleton. *Triumph of Love*, ed. Dyce, v. 289; bittour, Chapman, tr. of *Odyssey*, v. 89; M.E. bitore. O.F. butor, a bittern. (Tudor Glossary.)
3. 'heronsewe': herneshaw, a young heron. 'Heronceau, an hernshawe', Palsgrave. M.E. heronsewe (Chaucer), Anglo-F. herouncel. (Tudor Glossary.)
4. H.P. 'tables.'
5. The Latin echoes Juvenal, Sat, 5, l. 166:  
'spes bene cœnandi vos decipit. "ecce dabit iam  
semesum leporem atque aliquid de clunibus apri;  
ad nos veniet minor-altilis."'

### Page 85

1. H.P. 'a.'
2. 'payne mayne': white bread of the finest quality. 'Payne mayne, payn de bouche.' Palsgrave. M.E. payndemayn. Cf. Chaucer, Rime of Sir Thopas:  
'Sir Thopas wex a doughty swayn,  
Whyt was his face as payndemayn.'

## Notes: pages 85, 86

Anglo-French, pain demeine; Med. Lat., panis dominicus, lord's bread, bread eaten by the master of the house. (Tudor Glossary.)

3. 'manchet': a small loaf of white bread. Cf. Drayton, Polyolbion, Song xvi. 229. In provincial use in Yorkshire, Lancashire, and in the west country. Norm. F., manchette, 'pain à croûte dure, inégale, fait en forme de couronne.' (Moisy.) Probably the same word as F. manchette, cuff. (Hatzfeld.) (Tudor Glossary.)

4. H.P. 'stony.'

5. H.P. 'artès.'

6. This is borrowed from Juvenal, Sat. 5, 1, 70:

'sed tener et niveus mollique siligine fictus  
servatur domino. dextram cohibere memento,  
salva sit artoptæ reverentia. finge tamen te  
improbulum, superest illic qui ponere cogat.  
"vis tu consuetis, audax conviva, canistris  
impleri panisque tui novisse colorem?"'

7. Æneas Sylvius has a paragraph on the delicious truffles procured for the prince, imitated from Juvenal. Barclay omits this, perhaps because he did not recognize the allusion to Claudius:

'Quod si Ver fuerit, et optata tonitrua cœnas maiores reddiderunt,  
raduntur Tubera terræ, et vsque a Lybia deferuntur Boleti optimi,  
quales edere solebat Claudius ante illum, in quo venenum vxor sibi  
porrexerat. Curialibus autem viles et ancipites Fungi ponuntur, et in  
quibus sæpe mors editur.'

A passage on apples, likewise imitated from Juvenal, follows.

### Page 86

1. 'sewer': an attendant at a meal who superintended the seating of the guests, and the tasting and serving of the dishes. Cf. *Macbeth* i. 7. Stage Direction. M.E. sewer at the mete, seware at mete. O.F. asseoir, 'en parlant du service de la table, qui fait asseoir' (Godefroy), Pop. Lat. assedatorem (acc.) one who sets, places, deriv. of assedare, to set, place. Cf. Norm. F. aseer, to place. (Tudor Glossary.)

The term 'dapifer Cameræ,' 'Sewer of the Chamber' frequently occurs. The office was an honorary one and was held by a 'generosus,' 'gentleman.' John Heywood was 'dapifer Cameræ' from 1552-58.

2. 'jape': jest, joke.

3. 'gobbet': piece, morsel.

*Notes: pages 86, 87*

4. Juvenal, Sat. 5, l. 120, has:

'structorem interea, ne qua indignatio desit,  
saltantem spectes et chironomunta volanti  
cultello, donec peragat dictata magistri  
omnia; nec minimo sane discrimine refert,  
quo gestu lepores et quo gallina secetur.'

**Page 87**

1. H.P. omits 'at.'

2. H.P. 'pleasure.'

3. 'Jacke with the bush': the expression is rare. Fairholt defines it as 'Jack in office,' and probably it means no more than this. But a remote personal allusion may be intended, 'bush' referring to the wand of office, or perhaps to the hair of a particular person. There seems to be some analogy between the term and the description of 'savage men' or 'wodehouses,' as they were called, who achieved popularity in public shows of the Tudor period. On page 203 of Strutt's *Sports* is an interesting account of one of these:

'When queen Elizabeth was entertained at Kenilworth castle, various spectacles were contrived for her amusement, and some of them produced without any previous notice, to take her as it were by surprise. It happened about nine o'clock one evening, as her majesty returned from hunting, and was riding by torchlight, there came suddenly out of the wood, by the roadside, a man habited like a savage, covered with ivy, holding in one of his hands an oaken plant torn up by the roots, who placed himself before her, and, holding some discourse with a counterfeit echo, repeated a poetical oration in her praise, which was well received. This man was Thomas Gascoigne the poet; and the verses he spoke on this occasion were his own composition. The circumstance took place on 10th July 1575.'

Presumably the reference is to George Gascoigne, 1525(?)–1577, who took part in the Kenilworth celebrations.

4. 'taunt with a chek': a check was a taunting call, a bitter reproach (N.E.D.)

5. The 'quasi casus' is a difficulty. The reading of the 1468 edition of Æneas Sylvius's work is 'tractus,' subsequent editions having 'casus,' 'tractus' or 'chacus,' a proof that some confusion existed here. A comparison with Juvenal points to 'cacus' as the correct reading:

'duceris planta velut ictus ab Hercule Cacus,  
et ponere foris, si quid tentaveris umquam  
hiscere, tamquam habeas tria nomina.' (Sat. 5, l. 125.)

## Notes: pages 87-96

Barclay knew his Juvenal and it seems that 'Jack with the bush' is simply vernacular for Hercules with his club.

Cacus, son of Vulcan, was a giant who dwelt on Mons Aventinus: having robbed Hercules of the cattle of Geryon, he was slain by him.

### Page 89

1. H.P. omits 'it.'

### Page 90

1. Cawood 'On a.' Spenser Society facsimile 'One.'
2. H.P. 'or of motton.'

### Page 91

1. William Forrest uses this expression in his *History of Joseph the Chaiste*. In *Phyllip Sparowe* occur the lines:

'Troylus also hath lost  
On her much love and cost,  
And now must kys the post.'

'kiss the post': to be shut out of a house in consequence of arriving too late (there being nothing else to kiss but the door-post.) (Tudor Glossary.)

2. This may owe something to Virgil, *Eclogue II*, i, 10:  
    'Thestylis et rapido fessis messoribus æstu  
    allia serpyllumque herbas contundit olentes.'

### Page 92

1. H.P. 'courser.'

### Page 93

1. H.P. 'lyke.'

### Page 94

1. H.P. 'wyll.'

2. '... Be a man neuer so greedy to win,  
    He can haue no more of the fox but the skin.'

Heywood. (Proverbs.)

3. H.P. 'vpon.'

### Page 96

1. H.P. 'In lyke maner wyse, man vnrightwise.'
2. Cawood 'wil.' Spenser Society facsimile 'will.'
3. H.P. 'Athenence.'
4. H.P. 'Purposyng.'



*Notes: pages 97-110*

**Page 97**

1. H.P. omits 'he.'
2. H.P. 'blood.'

**Page 98**

1. H.P. 'count.'
2. H.P. 'slyne was.'
3. Some early Latin editions have 'Arracreonte.'

**Page 99**

1. H.P. 'ale.'
2. 'alonly': solely. From 'all and only.'

**Page 101**

1. H.P. 'bydde.'

**Page 103**

1. There is some ambiguity here. For 'not read 'more.' This reading is justified by the 'than' which follows.

**Page 104**

1. H.P. 'insured.'

**Page 107**

1. 'whittel': a small clasp-knife. Cf. *Timon of Athens* v, 1, 183. In general provincial use in this sense. M.E. thwitel, a knife (Chaucer) deriv. of thwiten, to pare or cut little pieces from a thing; O.E. þwītan, to cut out, cognate with Icel. þveit, a piece of land, common in place-names in the north of England, e.g. Seathwaite. (Tudor Glossary.)
2. 'prest': ready. Cf. *Merchant of Venice* i, 1, 160. An East Anglian word. M.E. prest (Chaucer) *Troilus and Crisseyde* iii, 917 F. prest, prest, ready, full-dight; prompt, quick (Cotgrave). (Tudor Glossary).
3. H.P. 'flyeng.'
4. Cawood 'bottell.' Spenser Society facsimile 'battell.'

**Page 108**

1. H.P. 'the scabbed.'
2. Cawood 'almoste.' Spenser Society facsimile 'almost.'

**Page 109**

1. Cawood 'our.' Spenser Society facsimile 'out.'
2. 'bugs.' F. punaise.

**Page 110**

1. 'Or els thou to hym, art alwaie tedious.'

*Notes: pages 111-116*

**Page 111**

1. H.P. omits 'the.'
2. Cawood 'lay vp.' Spenser Society facsimile 'lay by.'
3. H.P. 'errant.'
4. H.P. 'scurfy waferers': waferer, a seller of wafer-cakes, 'frequently mentioned in the dramatists as employed in amorous embassies.' Chaucer says of them:

'.....wafereres,  
Whiche been the verray develes officeres  
To kindle and blowe the fyr of lecherye,  
That is annexed unto glotonye.'

*Pardoner's Tale i. 17*

**Page 112**

1. H.P. '... paicaunt of the play.'
2. Cawood. The phrase seems to mean 'common people,' and only occurs here. The Spenser Society facsimile has "slimmers": worthless fellows.
3. 'brothell': an abandoned wretch. M.E. brothell, a worthless fellow. (Tudor Glossary.)

**Page 113**

1. 'malgre': in spite of. F. malgré.

**Page 114**

1. 'clawe': stroke.
2. hang in a halter. (Fairholt.)
3. barbers. (Fairholt.)
4. H.P. 'the.'
5. H.P. 'thy.'
6. H.P. 'fader.'
7. H.P. 'Whan he the seyth, comyng if he syt.'
8. H.P. 'The yates be closed ...'
9. H.P. 'Shall laugh the to scorne, thou bathyng in ð rayn.'

**Page 115**

1. contrivance: hence, secret of entrance.
2. & 3. Æneas Sylvius has a long and elaborate account of the dangers and atrocities of warfare which Barclay wisely omits.

**Page 116**

1. H.P. 'For wyther so euer, the court ...'
2. Cawood omits a line. H.P. has 'And do as they do, be it false or trew.'

*Notes: pages 116-124*

3. There seems to be here an implicit reference to the fifth Eclogue, and the lines may be taken as an indication that the Eclogues from Mantuan were composed before the three on the 'Miseries of Courtiers.'

**Page 117**

1. 'From post to pillar, wife, I haue been tossed.'
2. H.P. 'euyll.' Heywood. (Proverbs.)
3. H.P. 'cratchers': 'cratchers' of coin: people who 'scratch together' great wealth. (Fairholt.)
4. H.P. 'somewhat.'
5. Barclay avoids the reference to Caspar Schlick which follows here:  
'Multa sunt, propter quæ Magnifico Casperi Cancellario teneor, sed in hoc quoque suæ magnificentiæ sum obnoxius, quia me non patitur salario meo frustrari sicut alios video, qui suum gemunt fraudari salarium.'

**Page 118**

1. H.P. 'all in.'

**Page 119**

1. 'quite': repay, requite.

**Page 120**

1. H.P. 'causeth.'

**Page 121**

1. H.P. '... ah man god auowe.'

**Page 122**

1. H.P. 'disdaineth.'
2. H.P. 'foes.'

**Page 123**

1. H.P. 'Destroy his landes, and sore his landes distayne.'
2. H.P. 'nothyng doo.'
3. H.P. 'the.'
4. & 5. H.P. 'wyues.'

**Page 124**

1. H.P. 'mouest.'
2. H.P. 'Thy harte and mynde, all thou to him inclyne.'
3. H.P. 'payne.'
4. H.P. 'Fen.'

## *Notes: pages 124-128*

5. An allusion to Morton's sufferings in the Lancastrian cause. In 1483 he was arrested at the order of Richard III and confined in the Tower; later, at the request of Buckingham, removed to his custody at Brecknock Castle. He escaped and fled to Flanders where he remained until after the accession of Henry VII, when he was recalled.

6. H.P. 'their.'

7. Cawood 'before;' Spenser Society facsimile 'before,'

### **Page 125**

1. H.P. '... Palace ... Fen.'

2. 'dere': animal.

3. There is some resemblance here to Virgil's *Georgics* Liber I, line 480, where reference is made to the death of Cæsar:

'et mæstum inlacrimat templis ebur æraque sudant.'

4. The 'Shepherd Roger' is to be identified with Roger Westminster, prior of Ely, 1478-1500.

5. 'to pill': to plunder, to spoil.

### **Page 126**

1. 'to hap': to wrap up; clothe. Cf.:

'The scheperde keppid his staf ful warme,  
And happid it euer undur his arme.'

MS. Cantab. ff. v. 48. f. 53. (Halliwell's Dictionary.)

2. H.P. 'Ile.'

3. H.P. 'dredefull Dromo.'

'Dreadfull drome' may be a reference to James Stanley, Bishop of Ely, 1506-1515, or to his deputy. It is hardly an allusion to Nicholas West, a very generous man, nor to Thomas Goodrich, 'a zealous promoter of the Reformation,' for he did not become bishop of Ely until 1534.

4. hinder.

5. H.P. assigns this line to Coridon.

### **Page 127**

1. H.P. 'suche.'

2. H.P. 'yet alȳue.'

### **Page 128**

1. H.P. 'much on.'

2. H.P. 'nor Pytee.'

*Notes: pages 129-136*

**Page 129**

1. H.P. 'leadeth.'
2. 'ere': before.
3. Æneas Sylvius has a reference to himself which Barclay avoids:

'Refero Maximas Deo grates, qui mihi iam viro sequendi Principes animum tradidit, cum iam a parentibus virtutes aliquas sic acceperam, vt amplius amittere non possem. Quod si aliud non est, hoc saltem habes, quia nonnullas didici litteras, quarum essem omnino ignarus, si puericiam meam Curia suscepisset.'

**Page 130**

1. H.P. 'vnquietly.'

**Page 131**

1. 'deare': harm, annoy, trouble, grieve. M.E. *deren*, to harm, injure, grieve: O.E. *derian*, to injure, annoy. (Tudor Glossary.)

**Page 132**

1. H.P. 'of thei are.'
2. H.P. 'must.'
3. H.P. 'the warre.'
4. H.P. 'gyftes.'

**Page 133**

1. H.P. 'which lyue in.'
2. H.P. 'man.'
3. H.P. 'If.'

**Page 134**

1. 'to square': to quarrel.
2. H.P. 'rude rash &.'
3. H.P. 'suche.'

**Page 135**

1. H.P. 'Count all the townes, and officers eche one.'
2. H.P. 'What thyng they counsell.'
3. H.P. 'actes.'

**Page 136**

1. H.P. 'But breife to say all.'
2. H.P. 'shepherde.'
3. Æneas has a passage here which Barclay omits:

'Nihil de Clericis et Religiosis dixerim, qui cum Ioseph Pallium, cum Matthæo Telonium, cum Iohanne Sindonem, et cum Samaritana cupiditatis ydriam, iussi sunt relinquere.'

## Notes: pages 137-141

### Page 137

1. 'swallows': a 'swallow' was a hollow in the earth, hence a gulf or abyss, cf. the *Legende of Dido*, 179, 'the swolowe of hell.' (Halliwell's Dictionary.)

2. H.P. men, wyse.

### Page 138

1. may, must.

### Page 140

1. For his fourth and fifth Eclogues Barclay turned to Mantuan and took as his material the fifth and sixth Eclogæ. His fourth 'entituled Codrus and Minalcas, treating of the behauour of Riche men agaynst Poetes,' is a paraphrase of Mantuan's fifth, 'De Consuetudine Diuitum Erga Poetas.' It was probably composed after the fifth Eclogue, for it shows considerably more independence of treatment. For the name Minalcas, and the idea of an elegy, Barclay is possibly indebted to Vergil's fifth Eclogue.

The Argument of the poem is an original piece of writing.

For the Latin I have used the first edition. The title-page reads:

'F. Baptiste Mantuani Carmelitæ Theologi adolescentia in  
Aeglogas diuisa. Ad Paridem cerasarium,'

and the colophon:

'Mantuae Impressum per Vincentium Berthocum Regiensem Anno  
domini. MCCCCLXXXVIII. Sexto decimo Kalendas Octobres.  
Regnante in clyto & excelso Principe, Francisco Gonzaga. IIII.  
Mant. Mar.'

2. 'pautner': a wallet, scrip. 'Pautner, malette.' (Palsgrave.) ME. paw-tenere, pawytner. F. pautonnière, 'a shepherd's scrip.' (Cotgrave.) (Tudor Glossary.) 'With his polutid pawtenar.' Skelton. 'Ware the Hauk.'

3. Both Cawood and Spenser facsimile 'Codurs.' Pynson prints 'Somtyme this Codrus/dyde vnder shadowe lye.'

4. 'drone': a bagpipe or similar wind instrument.

### Page 141

1. Cawood 'had bene,' (comma). Spenser Society facsimile 'had bene.' (stop).

2. 'bourde': jest. F. bourde, 'a jeast, fib, tale of a tub.' (Cotgrave.) (Tudor Glossary.)

## *Notes: pages 142-147*

### **Page 142**

1. 'holte': a small wood or grove. M.E. holt, a plantation. Chaucer, Prologue to *Canterbury Tales*:

'Whan Zephirus eek with his swete breeth  
Inspired hath in every holt and heeth.'

O.E. holt, a wood. (Tudor Glossary.)

### **Page 143**

1. The reply of Minalcas owes something to Mantuan's ninth Ecloga, lines 117-119:

'hæc loca, si procul hinc videas e rupibus altis,  
pingue solum et multo vestitum gramine dicas;  
quo magis appropias tanto magis omnia sordent.'

2. The last lines are a reminiscence of Mantuan's Ecloga X, lines 137-141:

'ecce caput tollit coluber linguaque trisulca  
sibilat, infantur fauces, nepa livida tendit  
bracchia, ventrosus profert vestigia bufo,  
vipera per stipulam gradiens strepit. . . '

3. Minalcas answers with an echo of Mantuan's tenth Ecloga, lines 182-186:

'Aethiopes una quoniam nigredine sordent,  
ille color nulli vitio datur; omnibus idem  
vultus et alterius si quis reponderet ora,  
et sua damnaret. pecori pecorisque magistris  
fæx eadem, scabies eadem, cutis et color idem.'

4. 'gonge': 'Latrina.' 'Gonge, a draught, ortrait.' (Palsgrave.) M.E. gonge (Chaucer, C.T., l. 885).

### **Page 144**

1. 'Caball': Latin caballus, horse.

2. Pynson prints 'Ye other shepherdes/which haue ynough at home.'

### **Page 146**

1. Cawood 'time.' Spenser Society facsimile 'tune.' Pynson prints 'What tyme my wyttes/be clere for to endyte.'

### **Page 147**

1. 'pilche': a coat or cloak of skins for winter or bad weather. Ultimately it was made of coarser materials. (Fairholt. *History of Costume*.)

## Notes: pages 147-154

2. There is some resemblance here to Juvenal's third Satire, l. 147:

'Quid quod materiam præbet causasque iocorum  
omnibus hic idem, si fœda et scissa lacerna,  
si toga sordidula est et rupta calceus alter  
pelle patet, vel si consuto vulnere crassum  
atque recens linum ostendit non una cicatrix.  
nil habet infelix paupertas durius in se,  
quam quod ridiculos homines facit.'

### Page 150

1. 'semblably': similarly.

### Page 151

1. 'Some fyll theyr pot full  
Of good Lemster woll.' Skelton. Elynour Rummynge.  
2. 'scarlet': rich cloth, sometimes of a bright red colour, but often of other colours, as blue, green.  
3. 'Her kyrtel Brystow red.' Skelton. Elynour Rummynge. Red: cloth or clothing dyed with red.

### Page 152

1. 'pillion': a round hat. From the Latin 'pilleolum,' a small felt cap, a skull-cap. Cf. *Piers Plowman*,

'ne puten no pylion  
On his pild pate,'

and Skelton's *Colyn Cloute*, in which mention is made of one who

"Taketh his pylyon and his cap,  
At the good ale-tap."

Cavendish, in his *Life of Wolsey* mentions one who wore 'a round pillion of black velvet.' (Fairholt, *History of Costume*.)

2. 'grathly': carefully, exactly, properly, really, well. M.E. grayply, graydely.  
3. Pynson prints 'A clerke a poete/combyned with a boy  
To haunt the muses/hath but lytell ioye.'  
4. Cawood 'slumbreth.' Spenser Society facsimile 'sluumbreth.'

### Page 153

1. Pynson prints 'I heule as a kyte/for hunger and for colde.'

### Page 154

1. Cawood 'And.' Spenser Society facsimile 'Add.'  
2. Both Cawood and Spenser Society facsimile 'stusted.' Pynson prints 'The purse well stuffed/bothe with syluer & golde.'



## Notes: pages 154-157

3. 'warden': a large coarse pear used for baking; by popular etymology a keeping pear; 'Poire de garde, a warden or winter pear, a pair which may be kept very long.' (Cotgrave.) Spelt 'wardon.' (Palsgrave.) M.E. wardon(e). So named from Wardon (now Warden) in Beds. The arms of Wardon Abbey were argent, three warden-pears, or. (Tudor Glossary.)

4. 'shevers': sheeve, shive, a slice. In general provincial use. M.E. schyve. Cf. Icel., skifa, slice. (Tudor Glossary.)

A slice of anything edible, generally said of bread. (Halliwell's Dictionary.)

5. 'prophitroles': 'pourfiterolle: a cake baked under hot imbers.' (Cotgrave.)

6. These lines bear some resemblance to Vergil's first Georgic, lines 1-5:

'Quid faciat lætas segetes, quo sidere terram  
vertere, Mæcenas, ulmisque adiungere vites  
conveniat, quæ cura boum, qui cultus habendo  
sit pecori, apibus quanta experientia parcis,  
hinc canere incipiam.'

### Page 155

1. 'frowise': perhaps connected with 'frowy,' stale or musty. Spenser uses the word 'frowie' in the *Shepheards Calendar*, VII, 111. 'Or like not of the frowie fede.' E.K. comments 'frowye, mustye or mossie.'

2. 'quacham': the N.E.D. quotes Barclay but offers no explanation of this rare word.

3. 'kemp': a kind of eel. (Palsgrave.)

4. Spenser Society facsimile omits the stop.

### Page 156

1. 'Cosmus': Cosimo de Medici, the Elder (1389-1464), whose wealth was proverbial.

2. A reference to Colet, who was appointed Dean of St. Paul's in 1505.

3. In his reply Candidus alludes to Umber, the pastoral name of Gregorio Tifernate, the eminent Greek scholar under whom Spagnolo had studied at Mantua. Barclay adapts this into a reference to 'the Dean of Powles.'

### Page 157

1. Spenser Society facsimile has a comma here.

2. 'glowme': gloom, look melancholy or sullen.

## Notes: pages 158-163

### Page 158

1. mitres.

### Page 159

1. Cawood 'Micene.' Spenser Society facsimile 'Miceus.'
2. The gratuitous reference to Morton is interesting. The identity of 'Edwarde,' however, is difficult to establish. Sir Edward Howard might possibly be intended.

### Page 162

1. 'concord: from con + cendere = to kindle: hence, kindle, inflame. (N.E.D.)

### Page 163

1. The reference here to the sons of 'noble lorde Hawarde' is misleading. Barclay seems to infer that Howard lost more than one son in the King's service. This, however, was not the case. Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, was created Duke of Norfolk for his prowess at Flodden. At the same time his eldest son, Thomas Howard, who subsequently became Duke of Norfolk, and who served under his father at Flodden, became Earl of Surrey.

Howard had a large family. By his first wife, Elizabeth Tilney, he had eight sons, five of whom died in infancy. The eldest, Thomas, succeeded to the dukedom; the second, Edward, Lord High Admiral, was killed in an attack against the French Fleet off Brest in 1513; the third, Edmund, was Marshal of the Horse at Flodden and was knighted by his father after the battle. His daughter, Catherine, became the wife of Henry VIII.

By his second wife, Agnes Tilney, Howard had three sons, the most distinguished of whom was William Howard, First Lord Howard of Effingham.

William Forrest dedicated his *History of Joseph the Chaiste* to Thomas Howard (1536-1572), Duke of Norfolk, and in his Prologue mentions several generations of the Howards.

'A certayne wryter, Alexander Barkeley,  
In eloquent style, all voyde of rebuke,  
The booke of Mancyne in verse did conveye,  
.....

And to your noble Graundsyr Thomas,  
Duke, as yee are, of lyke tytyle and style  
He dyd yt commende, withe ornat peface.'

## Notes: pages 163-166

Later he mentions:

'Your noble father, Earle of Surraye,  
Howe (in hys tyme) to bookes he was bent,  
And also endytynge manye a vyrylaye  
In acceptatyon moste highe at this daye.'

Presumably Forrest is wrong in his data. The 'booke of Mancyne,' or the *Mirror of Good Manners*, was written at the request of Sir Giles Alington, and printed at the request of Richard, earl of Kent. Barclay dedicated his translation of Sallust's *Jugurthine War*, and also his 'Introductory' to Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk (1443-1524).

This may have led to the confusion. His patron was great-grandfather of the Duke of Norfolk who was beheaded in 1572.

But there is a probability that Forrest, 'simple and unlearned,' and thinking of the fourth Eclogue with its praise of Norfolk and long elegy on the death of Sir Edward Howard, confused 'Mancyne' and 'Mantuan.'

### Page 164

1. 'clergy': clerkly skill, learning.

### Page 165

1. 'snite': snipe.

2. 'camous': camois(e). of the nose: low and concave; 'a Camoise nose, crooked upward as the Morians,' Baret, *Alvearie*; 'Camously croked,' Skelton. Elynour Rummyng, 28; camused, Ben Jonson, *Sad Shepherd* ii. 1. F. *camus*: having a short and flat nose (Cotgrave). (Tudor Glossary.) Dyce, in his notes to Skelton's works, suggests that there is a reference here to the personal appearance of the Rector of Diss.

3. 'drames': dramas, plays. (N.E.D.)

4. The Latin has been expanded by Barclay into what has always been considered a covert attack on his contemporary Skelton.

Certainly a personal allusion of some kind is intended here, for the reference to the 'Poete laureate' is quite gratuitous. There was bad blood between Barclay and Skelton, and it is more than probable that the lines are aimed at the eccentric Rector of Diss.

### Page 166

1. An unusually successful line.

2. deprived of.

3. 'Wilberton,' now Wilburton, near Ely.

*Notes: pages 169, 170*

**Page 169**

1. The allusion to Cornix is reminiscent of the similar allusion to Umber in Mantuan's *Ecloga* IV, line 81:

'carmina femineis olim de fraudibus Umber.

Iannus. dic Umbri, dic, si quid habes, meditare parumper  
et verba et numeros; Umbri est memorabile carmen.'

**Page 170**

1. The description of the 'Towre of vertue and honour, into the which the noble Hawarde contended to enter by worthy actes of chivalry,' seems to have been inspired by the 'Temple dhonneur et de vertus,'<sup>1</sup> of Jean Lemaire de Belges, the famous 'rhétoriqueur.' Lemaire's work, partly verse and partly prose, was called forth by the death of his patron, Pierre II of Bourbon, 10th October, 1503. He presented it in the first place to the Comte de Ligny, and on his death to the widow of Pierre, Anne of Bourbon. Largely pastoral in character, 'Le temple dhonneur et de vertus' celebrates Pierre and Anne under the names of Pan and Aurora. Lemaire represents Anne as weeping for the death of her husband and hearing a voice extolling him. He continues:

<sup>2</sup> 'Ceste miraculeuse resonance consolatoire ainsi parvenue aux oreilles de la dicte tres haulte princesse, elle et sa fille ensemble les cinq bergiere dessus mentionnez qui sont ses feaulx subjectz serviteurs et vassaulx: Et les deux pastourelles ses subjectes et pedisseques: comme il luy sembla furent en ung momment transportez sur

<sup>1</sup> 'Le Temple dhonneur et de vertus: auquel sont contenus les chans des bōs et vertueux bergiers suppostz de Pan dieu silvestre/pareillement dea bergières subjectes a Aurora: laquelle amène le jour en nature. Composé p. Jehan le maire disciple de Molinet.

Nouvellement imprimé a Paris.

On les vend a Paris en la rue neufue nostre Dame a l'enseigne de lescu de France.'

Colophon—

'Cy finist le Temple dhonneur et de vertus ou sont contenus les chans vertueux des bons bergiers et bergières de Pan Dieu silvestre et de Aurora. Composé par Jehan le maire disciple de Molinet. Imprimé a Paris par Alain lotrian: et Denys janot.' No date.

J. Stecher in his 'Notice sur la vie et les œuvres de J. Lemaire de Belges' assigns Lothrian's edition to the year 1536. The first edition (1503) was published by Michel Lenoir.

<sup>2</sup> From J. Stecher's *Œuvres de Jean Lemaire de Belges*.

The text is that of the first edition of the *Temple*, and differs in some particulars from Lothrian's.

une montaigne haulte et spectable dont le sommet surpassoit de beaucoup les nues errans en region aerine. Si estoit icelluy mont semblable a celluy quon nomme Olympus en Macedone: tant floury tant verdoyant et tant revestu darbrisseaulx arrromaticques et dautres jolivetiez de grant redolence: come se ce feust ung second paradis terrestre. Et en la plaine spacieuse et herbue se monstroist ung edifice sumptueux a merveilles a maniere dung temple anticque en ouvraige, mais riche oultre mesure en sa façon. Lequel donnoit de prime face esbahissement a lœil, tant pour excellence de sa beaulté que pour la refflamboyance de lor et des pierres precieuses dont il estoit garni. A lentree de ce temple y avoit un portail tout estoffé de fin marbre poli et enrichi delegant ouvraige, ouquel temple estoyent posees tout de nouveau (comme il apparoit par la demonstracion de l'œuvre recente) six ymaiges exquises et precieuses taillees de main si ouvriere qu'il sembloit mieulx de prime face que le supernel facteur des choses y eust mis la main, que Phidias ne Praxiteles jadis souverain maistre<sup>1</sup> de sculpture. Et estoyent assises sur fermes embasemens dalbastre, en sièges de porphire et couvertes de pavillons de cristal semez destoilles: Ces six personnages avoyant habitz et visaiges plus angeliques que feminins avecques riches diademes es leurs chiefz, leurs robes parsemees de lettres ytallicques faictes de perles bordure et orfaverie. La premiere reportoit tout plein de P.P. La seconde avoit des J.J. La tierce et la sixiesme des E.E. Et la quatriesme et cinquiemes portoyent aussi une mesme devise. Cest assavoir des R. R. Tellement que a les lire ensemble par ordre elles faisoient PIERRE. A ce tant beau spectacle saresta la duchesse Aurora toute esmerveillee tenant sa tres amee fille par la main. Et consideroit en soy mesmes le efficace de ce mistere. Melibee, Argus, Mopsius, Amintas et Titirus les cinq bergiers dessuditz avec Egle et Galatee estoyant occupes a regarder la speciosité incredible et richesse incomparable de ce beau temple par dehors et disoyent les ungs que cestui leur bailloit intelligence et remembrance du grant temple du roy Salomon en Jerusalem ou de celluy de Dyane en Ephese.<sup>2</sup> Les aultres doutoyent<sup>3</sup> ensemble de la signification des lettres, dont les habitz des dictes ymages estoient couvertes. Lung disoit que la premiere qui avoit les P P estoit Pales la bonne deesse des pasturages. Lautre affermoit que cestoit Pallas, la deesse de Prudence. Puis ung aultre soubstenoit que la seconde qui portoit des J J estoit Juno. Lautre affermoit que cestoit la deesse Isis. Et ainsi des autres. Et comme ilz perseveroyent en cest estrif, lesditz

<sup>1</sup> Lothrian: 'souverains maistres.'

<sup>2</sup> See Lothrian. The earlier edition has the unintelligible 'Dyane en pechez.'

<sup>3</sup> Lothrian: 'disputoient.'

personnaiges de maintien virginal qui sembloient estre statutes immobiles, dresserent tout doucement sur bout que a peine appercevoit on leur mouvement. Et de leurs bouches corallines prononcerent par ordre les dictiers cy apres escriptz, ung chacun des assistens faisant silence taciturne et sappareillant a escout comme pour ouyr le saint oracle d'Apollo en Delphos.'

These figures, Prudence, Justice, Esperance, Raison, Religion, Equité, make appropriate speeches.

The duchess and her escort prostrate themselves, and a second vision appears:

'Adonc apparut aupres des dictes princesses mere et fille ung personnaige de forme engelicque ayant sa cheveleure blonde et recercelee et des belles esles azurees et purpurines aux bras et aux talions, comme se ce feust Mercure le messagier des dieux. Mais il avoit escript ung aultre nom aux orfrais de son precieux habillement. Laquelle escripture estoit richement pourtraicte a or et a soye en ceste maniere ENTENDEMENT PARANIMPHE ET GARDE DES VERTUS.'

This personage addresses himself directly to the duchess, bidding her leave her 'tendreur feminine et monstre cueur et constance de princesse.' Anne regains her composure and the figure continues:

'Vecy le noble domicile: le final recet et la mansion esternelle des haults hommes qui ont entre les humains merité tiltres d'excellance. Cest le temple dedié a deux habitudes divines: cest assavoir honneur et vertu. Cest ledifice construit et fabriqué par la main des corps celestes, habité et peuplé seulement des benoistes ames et frequenté des bienheurez espritz.'

With great pomp 'six grans personnaiges' come to the entrance of the temple. These are Charles VII, Charles VIII, Filipes de Bourgogne, Jehan de Bourbon, Charles de Bourbon, cardinal, and Louys de Bourbon,

'evesque de Liege et duc de Bouillon.'

In the midst of this distinguished band Pierre II 'esté produit et représenté devant les throsnes deificques d'honneur et de vertu.'

At this sight the duchess 'estancha ses pleurs et donna fin a son gemir, louant Dieu tres devotement.'

Barclay has taken but little detail from Lemaire's 'Temple.' The 'montaigne haulte et spectable dont le sommet surpassoit de beaucoup les nues errans en region aerine' seems to have suggested Barclay's:

'High on a mountayne of highnes marvelous.'

Lemaire's 'ung edifice sumptueux a merveilles a maniere dung temple anticque en ouvrage, mais riche outre mesure en sa façon' resembles Barclay's:

'.....the building olde,  
Ioyned and graued, surmounting mans brayne,  
And all the walles within of fynest golde.'

The six images at the entrance of Lemaire's Temple, Prudence, Justice, Equité, Raison, Religion and Esperance, roughly correspond to the virtues which enable men to enter Barclay's 'Towre'—'holy liuing,' 'wisedome,' 'godly behauour,' Justice and 'equitie.'

Moreover, Barclay follows Lemaire's lead in making well-known men inhabitants of the 'Towre.' It is possible that the English poet may have known and exploited Lemaire's 'Concorde des deux langages,' in which occurs a 'Description du Rocher sur lequel est assis le Palais d'honneur et le Temple de Minerve':

'Voicy le noble roc, qui les nues surpasse,  
Des plus haute monts qu'on sache au monde l'outrepasse,  
Dont le sommet atteint, l'air du ciel tressalubre.  
Or est tout ce Rocher, divers, glissant et lubre.  
Tres dur, agu, pointu, offendant piedz et palmes,  
Et n'y croit alentour, ny olives ne palmes,  
Mais seulement estocs, et arbres espineux,  
Poignans, fiers au toucher, tortus et pleins de nœuz.  
Tous les sentiers y sont, peu hantez, tost perdables,  
Dangereux au monter, promptement descendables,  
Et n'y va jamais nul, tant soit il grand et fort,  
Qu'il ne luy soit besoin exercer maint effort.  
Maint combat difficile, et mainte luitte aherdre  
Le tout en grand danger, de corps, et ame y perdre.  
Ains qu'il puist survenir au dessus du Rocher,  
Veu que pour le garder qu'on n'en puist approcher,  
Monstres y ha vilains, plus hideux que luittons,  
Horribles laids, et ords, tous garnis de bastons,  
Qui tant d'ennuy, et peine aux entrepreneurs font,  
Que pour le plus souvent leur vertu ploye et fond.  
Mais si par fortitude, et bien perseverer,  
Ilz peuvent d'aventure, en aleine durer,  
Iusques au fin plus haut, ou est la riche plaine,  
Garnie de tous biens, de felicité pleine,  
Lors ont ilz Belacueil, ilz ont repos eterne,  
Gentil bruit triomphant, et bienheurté superne.'

The temple was difficult of access, the horrible monsters, the welcome to those who by fortitude gain entrance, and their eternal rest, are

## Notes: pages 170-179

motives incorporated into the English poem. The idea of a hero overcoming prodigious difficulties is, however, dear to mediæval allegory, and Barclay's work is sufficiently ingenious and vigorous to justify its claim to originality.

### Page 171

1. Most probably Sir Gilbert Talbot, of Grafton, Worc., Blakmere, Salop., Horshed and Balsham, Cambridge and London, deputy of Calais, Henry VII's steward of Tutbury and of Feckenham and chamberlain of North Wales. He distinguished himself in the campaign against the French in 1513 and lost a leg at Théroutanne.

2. Probably to be identified with Robert Curzon, knight or baron, of London and Ipswich, and captain of Hampnes Castle in Picardy. He took part in the 1513 campaign and is mentioned as 'Master of the ordnance in the Rearward.'

### Page 172

1. Spenser Society facsimile, and Cawood: 'seemeeh.' Pynson prints 'Plainly he semeth/thus chaungyng his nature.'

2. There is a direct reference here to Vergil's Georgics, lib. IV, lines 437-442:

'cuius Aristæo quoniam est oblata facultas,  
vix defessa senem passus componere membra  
cum clamore ruit magno manicisque iacentem  
occupat. ille suæ contra non inmemor artis  
omnia transformat sese in miracula rerum,  
ignemque horribilemque feram fluviumque liquentem.'

### Page 173

1. Pynson prints 'Was by this monster/ouercome and superate.'

### Page 175

1. Pynson prints 'O dethe thou hast done/agaynst bothe lawe & right.'

### Page 176

1. Pynson prints

'Who may I accuse? who may I put in blame?  
God for deth/or fortune/or impotent nature  
God dothe his pleasure/& dethe wyll haue the same  
Nature was mighty/long able to endure.'

### Page 179

1. Cawood: 'in bed.' Spenser Society facsimile 'Iu bed.'

2. The allusion to Cornix recalls the similar reference to Umber in Mantuan's fourth Ecloga, line 242:

'Carmina doctiloqui cursim recitavimus Umbri.'



*Notes: pages 181-183*

**Page 181**

1. Barclay's fifth eclogue, 'entituled Amintas and Faustus, of the disputation of Citizens and men of the Countrey,' is translated from the sixth of Mantuan, 'De disceptatione Rusticorum et Civium.'

This eclogue was probably composed before the fourth and the first three, as it exhibits a greater dependence on the Latin than the others.

2. W. de W. 'aspyed.'

3. W. de W. 'stode.'

4. 'brouche of tinne': 'these tin brooches were frequently worn as signs of pilgrimage; and were fashioned into figures of the saints at whose shrines they were distributed.' (Fairholt. Notes to 'Citizen and Uplondyshman.' Percy Society.)

5. 'There is nothing in this world that agreeth worse  
Than doth a lord's heart and a beggar's purse.'

Heywood. (Epigrams upon Proverbs).

6. Cawood's edition, 'this comely slouch.' Spenser Society facsimile misprints 'the comely slouch': 'slouch': lazy fellow, an ungainly person. (Halliwell's Dictionary.)

7. W. de W. 'getted.'

8. 'proper prim': neat girl. (Fairholt.)

**Page 182**

1. W. de W. 'pleasure had.'

2. The country as opposed to the town.

3. W. de W. 'Themselife.'

4. Cawood 'sins.' Spenser Society facsimile 'sine.'

5. W. de W. 'blowys all with a fereful sounde.'

**Page 183**

1. W. de W. 'hewsys.'

2. W. de W. 'The streames frosen.'

3. W. de W. 'harmes.'

4. W. de W. 'smoke.'

5. W. de W. 'sterynge.' Cawood 'sturring.' Spenser Society facsimile misprints 'stirring.'

6. 'pulment': 'a kind of pottage, Pulmentorium, a pulment.'  
'Nominale MS.' (Halliwell's Dictionary.)

7. 'frument'; frumenty or furmity: 'a dish still eaten by country folks, composed of wheat boiled in milk and sugar, and seasoned with spice.' (Fairholt.)

## Notes: pages 170-179

motives incorporated into the English poem. The idea of a hero overcoming prodigious difficulties is, however, dear to mediæval allegory, and Barclay's work is sufficiently ingenious and vigorous to justify its claim to originality.

### Page 171

1. Most probably Sir Gilbert Talbot, of Grafton, Worc., Blakmere, Salop., Horshed and Balsham, Cambridge and London, deputy of Calais, Henry VII's steward of Tutbury and of Feckenham and chamberlain of North Wales. He distinguished himself in the campaign against the French in 1513 and lost a leg at Théroutanne.

2. Probably to be identified with Robert Curzon, knight or baron, of London and Ipswich, and captain of Hampnes Castle in Picardy. He took part in the 1513 campaign and is mentioned as 'Master of the ordnance in the Rearward.'

### Page 172

He describes the Snenser Society facsimile, and Cawood: 'seemeeh.' Pynson prints 'hereof groweth envy, thus chaungyng his nature.' ing, murther, homicide, and great enre to Vergil's Georgics, lib. IV, lines daily teacheth.'

Football was not the prerogative of the male sex. Facultas, 'Dialogue between two Shepherds' occur the lines:

'A time there is for all, my mother often says,  
When she, with skirts tucked very high,  
With girls at football plays.'

At Inverness the married women played against the unmarried were always victorious.

The old type of football persists at Chester-le-Street. ('Sports' ed. J. C. Cox. Page 95.)

3. W. de W. 'thryftles.'

liquentem.'

superate.'

lawe & right.'

### Page 185

1. W. de W. 'drowne.' Drone = bagpipe.

2. W. de W. 'wantynge.'

### Page 186

1. W. de W. 'I tell thee.'

2. W. de W. 'euerychone.'

### Page 187

1. W. de W. 'scyence.'

2. W. de W. 'by other polecy.'

## Notes: pages 181-183

### Page 181

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Than doth a lord's heart and a beggar's purse.'

Heywood. (Epigrams upon Proverbs).

6. Cawood's edition, 'this comely slouch.' Spenser Society prints 'the comely slouch': 'slouch' is <sup>his</sup> own name. The editions of (Halliwell's Dictionary.) words agree in their readings, so the mistake

7. W. de W. 'getted.' the original manuscript, and is possibly attribut-

8. 'proper prim' change of rôles.

de W. 'Fully thy promes.'

### Page 182

1. W. de W.

2. The coe W. 'Faustus.'

3. W. de W. 'fourmed.'

4. Caw. de W. 'with.'

5. W. de W. 'two twynnes forthe she brought.'

Page 183. W. de W. 'Whan god assysteth man worketh not for nought.'

1. V

### Page 191

1. W. de W. 'Amyntas.'

2. W. de W. 'commynnteth.'

3. W. de W. 'the.'

4. 'colling': to coll, to embrace. Still in use in Dorset and Somerset. O.F. coler, deriv. of col (F. cou) 'to embrace', neck. (Tudor Glossary.)

5. 'basse' rural usage: to kiss. 'Bas me,' Skelton, Speke Parrot, 106.

'I basse or kysse a person, Je baise,'

(Palsgrave.)

F. baisier; L. basiare. (Tudor Glossary.)

## Notes: pages 192-195

### Page 192

1. Cawood 'babes finde': no stop. Spenser Society facsimile 'babes find.'
2. W. de W. 'supposynge.'
3. W. de W. 'sayde woman.'
4. W. de W. 'At the last.'
5. W. de W. 'rome': i.e. Rome.

### Page 193

1. W. de W. 'and '
2. W. de W. 'promoteth.'
3. W. de W. 'Some squyers/knyghtes.'
4. 'pollax': a battle-axe.
5. 'haberiowne': a breast-plate.
6. W. de W. 'getton': 'a banner properly two yards in length.' (Halliwell's Dictionary.)
7. W. de W. 'shreues.'
8. 'caduke': crazy, frail. (Halliwell's Dictionary.)
9. Cawood 'Eue.' Spenser Society facsimile 'Gue.'
10. W. de W. 'fle she.'

### Page 194

1. W. de W. 'fader cretour.'
2. 'pece': cup. (Palsgrave.) 'Cateria, Anglice a pese.' (Nominale MS.) (Halliwell's Dictionary.)

### Page 195

1. 'driuell': to do menial work. A drivell was a drudge. 'A Drudge, or drivell,' Baret, 1580; 'A dyshwasher, a dryvyll,' Skelton, *Against Garnesche*, 26. M.E. drivil, a drudge, a menial. (Tudor Glossary.)
2. W. de W. 'Ryppyngne.'
3. Cawood 'vnto scorne.' (stop.): Spenser Society facsimile 'vnto ne,' (comma.)
4. W. de W. 'or.'
5. 'costard iaggers': itinerant apple-sellers. (Fairholt.)
6. 'daubers, or droupy water lagers': 'plasterers, or stooping water-carriers.' Skelton mentions 'the Irish water-lag.' (Fairholt.)
7. W. de W. 'fyreste in this wyse.'

*Notes: pages 196, 197*

**Page 196**

1. W. de W. 'dwelled.'
2. W. de W. 'dwelt.'
3. W. de W. 'our.' Cawood has 'out.'
4. Cawood 'yong'; Spenser Society facsimile 'yonge.'
5. W. de W. 'agayne.'
6. W. W. 'scorfy scoftynges.'
7. W. de W. 'A lyfe.'
8. W. de W. 'wall.'

**Page 197**

1. W. de W. 'shoulde.'
2. This speech is based on Mantuan's seventh Ecloga, lines 9-56. In the Latin Galbula says:

'Ut dixere patres, iaciens primordia rerum  
(magna canam nobis quæ quondam tradidit Umber)  
instituit Deus agricolas pecorisque magistros.  
primus agri cultor rudis, immansuetus et asper  
qualis humus segnis, lapidosa, rebellis aratro.  
est ovium primus pastor, mitissima proles,  
instar ovis quæ bile caret, quæ lacte redundat,  
mitis erat, nullis umquam pastoribus asper.  
de grege sæpe suo sacrum ponebat ad aras;  
nunc ove, nunc pingui vitulo faciebat, et agno  
sæpius, et magno divos amibat honore.  
sic profecit apud Superos, sic numina flexit,  
ut fuerit primo mundi nascentis ab ortu  
tempus ad hoc cælo pecoris gratissima cura.  
Assyrios quosdam (sed nescio nomina; curæ  
diminuunt animum) Deus ex pastoribus olim  
constituit reges qui postea murice et auro  
conspicui gentes bello domuere superbas.  
cum Paris Iliaca tria numina vidit in Ida  
(aut Paris aut alius puerum qui obruncat ad aram)  
pastor erat. quando cælesti exterritus igne  
venit ad ostentum pedibus per pascua nudis,  
pastor erat Moses, Moses a flumine tractus.  
exul apud Graios Amphrysia pastor Apollo  
rura peragravit posito deitatis honore.'

The 'Umber' of the Latin becomes in the English 'Candidus,' Cain and Abel are mentioned by name, the Latin 'apud Superos' becomes

*Notes: pages 197-200*

'with God omnipotent,' the Assyrian shepherds are enumerated, the 'apud Graios Amphrysia pastor Apollo' becomes 'also Apollo was herde sometime in Grece,' and the confusion of pagan and Christian elements is accentuated, for Barclay introduces the names of 'Pan, Silene, Orpheus, joly Tyterus,' and Saul into his version.

The Latin continues:

'cælestes animi Christo ad præsepia nato  
in caulis cecinere Deum pastoribus ortum,  
et nova divini partus miracula docti  
pastores primi natum videre Tonantem,  
et sua pastores infans Regnator Olympi  
ante magos regesque dedit cunabula scire.  
se quoque pastorem Deus appellavit, ovesque  
mitibus ingeniis homines et mentibus æquis.  
et, ne vana putes hæc somnia, nuper ab urbe  
rus veniens picto perlegi hæc omnia templo.  
sunt pecudes pictæ, parvi sub matribus agni  
intellure cubant, ingens equitatus ab alto  
monte venit, radiant auro diademata divum  
et suspensa tenent vaga lumina prætereuntum.  
non igitur mirum noster si numina Pollux  
vidit; amant villas et oves et ovilia divi.  
simplicibus præsens Deus est, offenditur astu.'

3. W. de W. 'no mercy.'
4. W. de W. 'selfe wyllynge.'
5. W. de W. 'as is.'

**Page 198**

1. W. de W. 'felde.'
2. W. de W. 'vnto my.'
3. W. de W. 'other kynges.'
4. W. de W. 'royalmes.'
5. W. de W. 'wryteth.'

**Page 199**

1. W. de W. 'hamayne.'
2. Cawood 'nor.' Spenser Society facsimile 'not.'
3. W. de W. 'glywerynge.'
4. W. de W. 'to grete.'

**Page 200**

1. W. de W. 'bothe in the . . .'
2. W. de W. 'the hostoryes.'

*Notes: pages 200-205*

3. In the Latin Alphas replies to his companion:

'Vera refers, pecori sic sint innoxia nostro  
pascua, vidi asinum, vidi præsepe bovemque.  
iam memini turbæ venientis, et ora videre  
indica iam videor regum sua dona ferentum.  
unum oro, quænam Polluci occurrit imago?  
Galbula, si nosti, ne sit labor omnia fari.'

The fact that this passage is merely a translation from the Latin has been held to contradict Barclay's statement that he saw the pictures described, painted on the walls of Ely Cathedral. There is no need to doubt his statement. At this period many churches were decorated with frescoes, and at the present day there are traces of ancient colouring in the South Transept of the Cathedral. The Nativity and scenes from the life of Christ were favorite subjects. Apparently the frescoes at Ely survived the Reformation, for in an account of the Cathedral written in the reign of William and Mary occurs the phrase:

'The pillars are Carv'd and painted with y<sup>e</sup> history of the bible,  
especially the new testament and description of Christ's miracles.'

4. W. de W. 'remembred.'

5. W. de W. 'me.'

6. Cawood 'cloathing.' Spenser Society facsimile 'clothing.'

**Page 202**

1. W. de W. 'of two ylles.'

2. W. de W. omits 'it.'

**Page 203**

1. W. de W. 'the wolde.'

2. W. de W. 'Pariury.'

3. W. de W. 'in.'

4. W. de W. 'the.'

**Page 204**

1. W. de W. 'apes, also houndes.'

2. W. de W. 'your.'

3. W. de W. 'dyseyueth.'

**Page 205**

1. W. de W. 'that.'

2. W. de W. 'in trappe.'

3. W. de W. 'in hete/wynde/colde and rayne.'

*Notes: pages 205-210*

4. W. de W. 'ply.'
5. W. de W. 'theyr.'

The first few lines of this speech are reminiscent of Mantuan's tenth Ecloga, lines 182-4. The English corresponds to the Latin:

'Aethiopes una quoniam nigredine sordent,  
ille color nulli vitio datur, omnibus idem  
vultus et alterius si quis rependeret ora,  
et sua damnaret.'

**Page 206**

1. 'an apple-seller.'
2. 'glose': speak tenderly, flatter.
3. W. de W. 'gan.'
4. W. de W. 'flesshe.'
5. W. de W. 'nede.'

**Page 207**

1. W. de W. 'lette.'
2. W. de W. 'vpon londe.'
3. W. de W. 'haunteth.'

**Page 208**

1. W. de W. 'dammage.'
2. W. de W. 'medleth.'

**Page 209**

1. W. de W. 'good.'
2. An allusion to the Observant Franciscans, who had a convent at Greenwich adjoining the royal palace.
3. W. de W. 'they.'
4. Fairholt notes: "The suburbs of London, and the streets by the water side, were notoriously infamous in the sixteenth century; and the stews in Southwark are particularly alluded to in Cock Lorel's Bote, as well as some other London localities, rendered infamous by the dispersion of water-side residents by the Bishop of Winchester who owned the property.'

**Page 210**

1. 'angles': corners.
2. W. de W. 'by god a vowe.'



## Notes: pages 210-212

For the next three speeches Barclay is indebted to Mantuan's second Ecloga, lines 66-78:

- Faustus. 'Rustica gens, nulla genus arte domabile semper  
irrequietum animal, gaudet sudore. peracto  
mane sacro festa (quando omnibus otia) luce  
ipsa oti ac famis impatiens epulatur et implet  
ingluviem. audito properat tibicine ad ulmum;  
hic furit, hic saltu fertur bovis instar ad auras.  
quam rastris versare nefas et vomere terram  
calcibus obduris et inertī mole fatigat  
ac ferit, et tota Baccho facit orgia luce  
vociferans, ridens, saliens et pocula siccans.'
- Fortunatus. 'Stulte, quid hæc faris? solatia rustica damnas  
rusticus ipse? tuis malus es, tibi pessimus ipsi.'
- Faustus. 'Dicta ioco fuerint.'

### Page 211

1. W. de W. 'of the skye.'
2. W. de W. 'grete pleynte.'

### Page 212

1. W. de W. 'comprehensyble.'
2. W. de W. 'thyne.'
3. W. de W. 'ruyall.'
4. W. de W. 'pryse.'
5. Skelton has a similar passage in *Colyn Cloute*:  
    'As many a frere, God wote,  
    Preches for his grote,  
    Flatteryng for a newe cote  
    And for to have his fees;  
    Some to gather chees;  
    Loth they are to lese  
    Eyther corne or malte.'
6. Chaucer says of his 'Frere':  
    'His tipet was ay farsed ful of knyves  
    And pinnes, for to yeven faire wyves.'
7. 'gentle cluner': A Cluniac monk. The Cluniac adaptation of the Benedictine rule was established by Berno, abbot of Gigny, who built and endowed a monastery at Cluny, A.D. 992.
8. W. de W. 'shamefast.'

*Notes: pages 213-218*

**Page 213**

1. W. de W. 'dymmeth.'
2. W. de W. 'other.'
3. Cawood 'pillers.' Spenser Society facsimile 'piliers.'

**Page 214**

1. W. de W. 'not spoylynge of the cyte.'
2. 'tabert': tunic or 'smock-frock.'
3. W. de W. 'bondes.'

**Page 215**

1. 'gripes': griffins.
2. 'geason': rare, scarce, uncommon. M.E. gesen. O.E. gæ̃sne: barren, unproductive. (Tudor Glossary.)
3. W. de W. 'gan.'

**Page 216**

1. W. de W. 'subtyll.'
2. W. de W. 'Preue felony.'
3. W. de W. 'worle.'

**Page 217**

1. W. de W. 'Where cometh moryen.'
2. W. de W. 'lykely.'
3. W. de W. 'harnes.'
4. W. de W. 'dedely ylles.'

**Page 218**

1. W. de W. 'Rennus.'
2. Cawood 'sauour.' Spenser Society facsimile 'fauour.'
3. W. de W. 'there.'
4. Spenser Society facsimile, 'lay here a straw at.'
5. W. de W. 'is best as in mynde.'

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